University of Alberta

Moving Beyond Economic Impact: Sporting Events as a Community Development Tool

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the links between the sporting events agenda and community development activities in three cities: Edmonton, Canada; Manchester, United Kingdom; and Melbourne, Australia. A four part research process was undertaken to 1) examine the historical and political context of each city, 2) examine the nature of the coalitions guiding the use of sport for urban development, 3) explore coalition members' perceptions of the links between sporting events and community development, and 4) consider strategies for developing more socially responsible event policies. It was determined that the coalitions in each of these cities represent what Stoker and Mossberger (1994) have referred to as *symbolic urban regimes* focussed on marketing and promoting the image of the city. The coalition in Edmonton represents a progressive symbolic regime where economic growth is secondary to promoting a desirable image of the city to attract tourists and investments. Manchester and Melbourne's coalitions represent urban revitalisation symbolic regimes where increased economic activity is a vital part of the reimaging process surrounding events. Regime members were interviewed to determine their perceptions regarding the use of sporting events as part of a community development agenda. In Edmonton, regime members interviewed perceived little connection between the events strategy and community development issues. The rhetoric of community development used by regime members reflected a neoliberal philosophy of 'city-as-a-whole' wherein all citizens benefit from the hosting of sporting events. In Manchester and Melbourne, regime members were more attentive to social and community issues. Many of the regime members cited specific examples where attempts had been made to satisfy the needs/interests of local

neighbourhoods, community groups, and community organisations. Despite the attention to social and community needs, they conceded the need to find ways to create stronger links between the events strategies and community needs. The final section of the research returned to the interview and documentation data collected from Manchester and Melbourne to explore strategies and policy issues to help create more socially inclusive and community oriented events agendas. This section offers opportunities to develop policies that could enhance the ties between the use of events for civic development and the needs of local communities.

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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

Globalization and economic restructuring in cities across the globe have resulted in many cities seeking out new modes of capital accumulation. Within this context, sport has come to play an important role for cities struggling to find a place in this emergent global economy (Maguire, 1999; Miller, Lawrence, McKay, & Rowe, 2001). More specifically sporting events have emerged as marketing and civic promotion tools, with cities bidding for the rights to stage different sizes and scales of sporting events. While the use of mega-events such as the Olympic Games has been widely studied as an important tool for tourism and economic development (cf. Andranovich, Burbank, & Heying, 2001; Hall, 2004; Whitelegg, 2000), it is not the only sporting event sought after by cities. Some cities have pursued hosting strategies that combine various levels of events (Gibson, Willming, & Holdnak, 2003; Murphy & Carmichael, 1991) as part of a politico-economic platform (Black & van der Westhuizen, 2004) in which those individuals and groups responsible for creating public policy and marketing of the city argue that the hosting of events is for 'the greater good of citizens' (Green, Costa, & Fitzgerald, 2003). However, there is little published evidence to suggest that sporting events benefit the overall well-being of communities (Hiller, 2006; 2000).

Sporting events are deemed unique opportunities for business and political elites in cities to secure resources for development efforts and to create global exposure (Andranovich, Burbank, & Heying, 2001; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). In cities pursuing pro-development strategies, an urban coalition, a group of individuals and organisations from both the public and private sectors working together for civic growth and development often steers the process of bidding for and acquiring events. Elkin (1987) and

Stone (1989) have termed these groups 'urban regimes' in the American context. While there is some debate regarding whether urban regime theory is applicable in other countries, it appears that in cities around the world, groups from the public and private sectors are increasingly working together for growth and development purposes (Davies, 1996). It is these growth coalitions that seem to be guiding the strategy of acquiring and using sporting events for tourism, marketing, and economic development purposes (Henry & Paramio-Salcines, 1999).

In addition to the increased tourism and media attention a city may garner through the use of sporting events, Coalter, Allison, and Taylor (2000) have argued that sport can also make a strong contribution to the local community. As explained by Gratton and Taylor (2000) "it is often claimed that the economic regeneration is paralleled by social regeneration, the improved image helping citizens to feel better about their city, and providing the local population with excellent facilities within which to participate in sport" (p. 117). Similarly, Jarvie (2003) has acknowledged that sport may be viewed as an important form of civic engagement and, as such, should be regarded as a vehicle for social inclusion and community revitalization. Thus, when sporting events appear on the policy agendas of cities, arguments are made for a variety of positive social and economic impacts that can be generated by events and the facilities constructed to host them.

Despite claims of social benefits, for the most part, the hosting of large-scale sporting events such as Commonwealth Games serve primarily those within, or tightly connected to, the urban growth coalition. Whitson and Macintosh (1996) have expressed concern about how sporting events impact communities and local citizens, over and above economic effects. Given that studies of the economic impact of large-scale sporting events

are inconclusive and provide little insight into how events are used for local community development (Gratton, Dobson, & Shibli, 2000; Rosentraub, 1999), the degree to which the local community fits into the plans of a city's pro-growth agenda has been questioned (Kearns & Philo, 1993; Whitson & Macintosh, 1996). Much of the evidence continues to suggest that events privilege few groups within the city. However, there is a growing interest concerning how civic regeneration strategies and tourism development might be used, even if only symbolically, to serve the needs and interests of other groups within the community, in particular groups that have been socially excluded or disadvantaged (Hall, 2001; Haxton, 1999; Hiller, 2000). Despite this growing awareness, there has been little research that has addressed this ideological shift. Consequently, questions remain about whether or not urban regimes can use sporting events to serve wider community development issues (as defined by the city).

What is missing in the urban studies and sport studies literature is an in depth investigation of how cities may be attempting to use sporting events for community centred objectives. Further, it is not well understood to what extent, if at all, urban coalitions perceive the use of events as part of a wider community development and social policy agenda. Hiller's (2000) study of the failed Cape Town Olympic bid demonstrates one example where a city sought to use a sporting event for more than mere economic gain. The bid centred upon the idea of restructuring the post-apartheid city, while focussing on transforming the city through its emphasis on human development. Hiller (2000) argued that while the lofty goals put forth in the bid may have been difficult to achieve, "it is refreshing to think beyond rationales and legitimations to the possibilities of harnessing such events for the broader public good" (p. 456).

Purpose of the Research

Building upon the aforementioned rationales, the purpose of this study was to explore on the extent to which three cities that currently have a sporting event strategy (Edmonton, Canada; Manchester, United Kingdom; Melbourne, Australia) have used events as part of community development activities and how this is perceived by the growth coalitions within these cities. This project focused on two areas: the political discourse surrounding a sporting event strategy and how it may support community development and community networking, and perceptions of associated urban coalitions of the use of sport as part of more general community development and community networking practices. Thus, this research was guided by the following four questions:

1. How do policies enabling a cities' sporting event strategy support, or neglect, a general community development agenda?
2. In hosting sport events, are there instances where urban growth coalitions have sought to meet the interests of the local community in addition to their own?
3. How do urban growth coalitions perceive the hosting of sporting events as part of a community development agenda?
4. What types of practices/strategies can urban coalitions employ when hosting sporting events to create more socially inclusive activities that foster community development objectives?

The three cities, Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne, chosen for this study have actively sought multiple levels of sporting events (i.e., large, medium and small scale) as part of civic development strategies.

This research project sought to produce several outcomes that address both the theoretical and practical implications for cities hosting sporting events. The initial process involved a detailed historical analysis of the cities involved in the study to provide context. The focus of the research included: determining the actors that play a role in the growth coalitions within a city as well as those exclusively involved in the sporting events initiatives; identifying their perceptions were regarding the use of sporting events for broad based community outcomes – in particular the symbolic attempts to foster benefits for groups outside the urban regime; and developing a framework for enhancing the positive social impact of events and involving local communities. Therefore, three distinct papers, presented here as three separate chapters, emanated from this research project. The first piece, Chapter 3, involved the in-depth analysis of the urban coalitions in the three chosen cities (Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne). This necessitated a detailed account of who the players are within the city and how the various partners are working together. In this way, it was possible to compare and contrast these cities' urban development coalitions, which was an important step in understanding the nature of these groups and the applicability of urban regime theory.

As has been discussed previously, there seems to be widespread acknowledgement that sporting events benefit primarily those within the urban coalition. The intent of the second portion of this research was to explore how some cities have (if at all) used these events to target different groups within the community. The second paper (Chapter 4) that emerged from this research examined the community involvement/development principles and programs associated with a sporting events strategy. Of particular importance were the views of primary and auxiliary urban coalition members towards community centred

values and objectives. This piece led into the culminating paper, Chapter 5, which used the findings from the previous two chapters to explore avenues for policy development and legacy programming surrounding sporting event agendas in cities to engage community development strategies. This chapter focused on policy formation and the informal agenda of coalitions that could be taken to help decrease the power differentials between urban coalition members and the rest of their respective communities. In addition, an executive summary of the outcomes has been provided to the cities that participated in this study in order to help them begin to understand and address some of the issues related to hosting of sporting events in the city.

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Chapter 2: BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

Cities and Urban Development

Many cities around the world once benefited from industrial sectors that determined the growth, wealth, and overall economic outlook of the city. However, due to declines in traditional manufacturing industries many city districts associated with industrial production have been abandoned and become dilapidated (Begg, 1999). Often, surrounding communities reliant upon such industries have also experienced a corresponding decline. In addition to the disintegration that has occurred, cities are also dealing with increasing globalization (Isin, 1999; Sassen, 1996). Among other things, globalization has been referred to as the narrowing of boundaries between nations and the increasing spatial flow of information and resources (Brysk & Shafir, 2004). "It describes the processes by which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe" (Amin & Thrift, 1997, p. 148). This means that cities around the world, even those that have not faced substantive economic downturns, are being forced to compete on a broader scale, for investments, tourism, and so on. In essence, nations, regions, and cities have to rely on transnational networks and transient resources to remain competitive on a global scale (Olds & Yeung, 1999). Thus, cities have sought new modes of production designed around marketing and branding (Jessop & McGregor, 1997). This has created a regional, national, and global system of competition among cities.

As a direct result of the increasing levels of competition among cities, many have sought new ways of attracting business and investment opportunities. The market economy has been transformed from a commodity/resource-based enterprise to a service/knowledge-

based entity where consumption-oriented activities such as tourism and entertainment venues are increasing in significance (i.e., shopping malls, theatres, sports complexes; Hannigan, 1998). This has given rise to the development of what some have termed the 'post-industrial city' (Sayer, 1997) or the 'post-modern' city (Hannigan, 1998). This new type of city is a consumption city, based on an economy of leisure and dreams, marketing fantasy and commercial developments (Judd, 2003). Focus has moved away from maintaining core-manufacturing industries, to one that emphasizes promoting and marketing the city. Wynne and O'Connor (1998) argued that there are three distinct processes championed by power-wielding elites in the transformation of city space. Firstly, there is a transformation of neglected and unprofitable areas into commercial or residential spaces. Secondly, there is the renovation of declining industrial or manufacturing space within the city via leisure-focused regeneration programs, including administrative services and cultural tourism. Thirdly, there is a rebranding of the city through a series of partnerships with local elites and global corporations. One example of this type of effort is Cleveland, Ohio's Gateway project, where public-private partnerships enabled the development of a sports arena and stadium, shopping district, hotels, and restaurants, developed in close proximity to revitalize the downtown core (Austrian & Rosentraub, 2002).

Sporting events have become an important part of this civic transformation process. Gratton and Henry (2001) have argued that "sport as a welfare service may be in decline, but as an element in city marketing, an attractor of the tourist market or of inward investment, sport has grown in significance for local government and in particular for cities" (p. 5). Typically, municipalities that use sporting events as part of development

strategies have justified them on the basis of increased economic activity and overall public good (Palmer, 2002). The first validation implies that local government's support of sporting events results in direct positive economic spin-off for the city and for the local community. The more abstract reason for supporting sporting events is related to civic pride, community identity, and attempting to become known as a 'big league city' (Rosentraub, 1999).

In order to use sporting events as part of the development agenda, pro-growth coalitions are focused on promoting and marketing the image of the city through sport (Judd & Fainstein, 1999). For many cities, the expansion of public-private partnerships or private enterprises has become the centrepiece of redevelopment projects that serve these goals of regeneration and marketing the city. As sport has increasingly been regarded as a useful tool for promoting, and branding cities for the purpose of attracting business and tourism, Kotler, Haider and Rein (1993) have argued that it is a unique resource that should be considered differently from other tools of cultural regeneration and image promotion.

Select governments in developed nations around the world have adopted sports policies, which assert that the hosting of major sporting events is an important objective (Gratton, Shibli, & Coleman, 2005). Generally, sport is argued to contribute to five primary areas of civic regeneration and redevelopment strategies: 1) local distinctiveness (i.e., image benefits); 2) community building (i.e., social and cultural benefits); 3) tourism; 4) attracting companies and investment; and 5) creating employment (i.e., direct economic impact benefits) (Gratton et al., 2005; Schimmel, 2001). Thus, the use of sporting events as a local development strategy is seen to contribute to a number of areas within the local economy.

However, the research that has been undertaken to date in the aforementioned areas relating to sporting events in civic development projects has reported mixed results. Before examining the literature on the evaluation of sporting events in cities further, it is important to understand how events are being theorized as part of a wider pro-growth agenda. In particular, it is difficult to truly understand the positive and negative effects of sporting events without first addressing the individuals and groups who bring about these processes within the city. In order to do so, I draw upon the urban regime literature to explore the notion of pro-growth coalitions within cities and how these in turn are related to the use of sporting events.

Urban Regimes

Within the urban studies and political science literature, there have long been theoretical debates about the organisation of cities and the groups that govern them. In recent years, with a shift to a notion of the postmodern/postindustrial city, new theories of growth politics and governance have come about through studies of U.S. cities and capitalist policies. The most prominent of these is *Urban Regime Theory*. The notion of regimes is used as a tool to describe public-private sector relationships. As one of the originators of urban regime theory, Stone (1989) defined urban regimes as "the informal arrangements by which public bodies and private interests function together in order to be able to make and carry out governing decisions" (p.6). Regime theorists contend that in order to fully understand regimes it is necessary to conceptualize power structures "through which governance is purposive and city leaders constructed as goal-oriented agents" (Ward, 1997, p. 182). This implies that power structures are contingent upon the

participants and political climate of governance; thus analyses entail studying how regimes emerge and structurally survive in times of change, economic strife, and political turmoil.

Early theorizing about regimes centred upon notions of growth coalitions and the growth machine (Molotch, 1976; Logan & Molotch 1987). Growth machines are considered an apparatus of interlocking, progrowth associations, and governmental units (Molotch, 1976). The growth coalition model of urban governance rests on the ideas that desire for growth is a key factor in motivating individuals and groups to cooperate. Those involved in the process are those with the most to gain from development, and the results of this system are social stratification in which elites come out on top (Logan & Molotch, 1987). Growth coalitions typically consist of local business people, politicians, and local media, as well as potential auxiliary players such as important officials associated with Universities, museums, theatres, expositions, pro-sports, and small retailers (Ward, 1997). The growth coalition model is the benchmark for many political and historical works using a political economy approach to the study of urban systems of governance.

What grew out of the growth machine/coalition models was the development of multiple perspectives of urban regimes. Regime theory explains "the linkages between private capital and political power and the potential synergies that can be exploited between these spheres of urban society" (Pierre, 2005, p. 447). It is designed to explain the connections between private capital and political power and the potential synergies that can be exploited between these spheres within cities. Moreover, regime analysis highlights the differences between urban governments (political structures in governing the local state) on one hand and governance (the process of coordinating and steering communities toward communally defined goals) on the other hand (Stone, 2004).

Elkin (1987) and Stone (1989) are considered the two most prominent theorists in the urban regime literature. In *Regime Politics*, Stone (1989) argued that the urban regime forms via a 'meshing of interests' with institutions and agents working for a negotiated agenda. His focus was on internal dynamics of coalition building and civic corporation (Stone, 1989). He conceived of regime political powers as the 'power to' or the capacity to act, rather than the 'power over' or social control (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001), and focused primarily on the idea of a corporate regime. Within this, Stone's (1989) typology maintained that there are 4 different types of corporate regimes; 1) a *caretaker* regime, organized around maintaining the status quo; 2) a *developmental* regime, organized around promoting economic growth while preventing economic decline; 3) a middle-class *progressive* regime, organized around imposing regulations on development for environmental or egalitarian purposes; and 4) a lower-class *opportunity expansion* regime, organized around the mobilization of resources to improve conditions in lower-income communities (Stone 2004; Stone & Sanders, 1987). Focus is generally on the commercial agenda, usually of downtown development with little regard for the wider local and political structures.

Elkin's (1987) conceptualization of urban regimes is not dissimilar to Stone's, but it is based on the premise that certain inbred civic structural factors lead elected officials to share mutual interests with business in prioritizing economic growth. Elkin (1987) argued that public officials and business form alliances to regulate growth; however, business interests regulate this system in capitalist economies. He proposed a typology of three political economies in which different regimes will emerge: *federalist, pluralist,* and *entrepreneurial*. Each 'type' of regime is demonstrative of where power is being wielded

and played out in governance structures. Pluralist regimes are considered inclusive coalitions that dominate land-use matters, particularly those linked to the economic vitality of the downtown. Federalist regimes reflect a progrowth alliance of sustained but uneasy partnership with minority groups and neighbourhood leaders. Finally, the most common, particularly related to urban developments such as sporting events, are entrepreneurial regimes which constitute relatively unconstrained alliances that shape the workings of city's political institutions so as to foster economic growth.

Numerous scholars have begun to expand upon two central theoretical stances regarding regimes described above, in order to fit different political, social and cultural contexts. With the rise of neoliberal policy endeavours, which emphasise capital subsidies, place promotion, supply side interventions, central city makeovers, and local boosterism, new modes of urban governance are emerging. DiGaetano and Klemanski (1991), and Turner (1992) have proposed a continuum of regime types. These include facilitator or progrowth regimes that promote the boosters' agenda at one end and exclusionary regimes, which are dominated by residential interests, with highly restrictive zoning on the other. In addition, there has been much controversy over the transferability of this U.S.-based theory to other nations. For example, Lawless (1994) rejects urban regime theory in the UK context on theoretical grounds that the basis for partnerships in the UK is very different than in the U.S. context. However, others argue that U.S. models of urban governance can assist in explaining developments in other countries (Davies, 1996). What makes the regime approach useful for examining other countries and contexts is the ability to understand the relationships of power inherent within the partnerships.

Hall & Hubbard (1998) have termed the regime approach an elite pluralist position that recognises that access to local politics is uneven. Typically, regime analysis considers power as fragmented and regimes as the collaborative arrangement through which governance is purposive and city leaders act as agents of change. In contrast to the community power approach (Ward, 1997), regime theory conceives of power structures as contingent upon the circumstances and the participants of governance. "This extends to the analysis of how regimes react to, and are affected by, political, social and economic change, and what affects their ability to survive" (Ward, 1997, p. 182).

While the literature on urban regime theory is diverse, the general theory of regime governance, the public private partnerships that demonstrate the power structures within the city, is a useful tool for understanding urban coalitions. Thus, it will prove useful in this study of different cities. Further, urban regime theory has been employed as an explanatory tool in research on sport in the city in numerous contexts such as Schimmel's (2001) critique of the sports-led growth strategy in Indianapolis. In this case Schimmel used regime theory to demonstrate how public and private elites mobilized around sport projects to promote the pro-growth interests of the dominant class. Pelissero, Henschen, and Sidlow's (1991) used urban regime theory to examine how city administrators mediated corporate demands with intangible benefits in the construction of a stadium in Chicago between 1985 and 1990. Sack and Johnson (1996) used regime analysis in conjunction with Peterson's economistic paradigm to identify key players in the attraction and retention of a major tennis tournament in New Haven, Connecticut. Henry & Parimio-Salinces' (1999) analysis of a symbolic regime in Sheffield, England provided a notable case study of the regime role for the 1992 World University Games as a symbolic project for that city.

Nevertheless, due to the discrepancies that exist regarding the application of urban regime theory to the numerous contexts, these groups which are known to exist in all three of proposed research sites will be initially considered urban growth coalitions. Use of the term regime to describe links between public and private enterprises has often been used without fully understanding the nature of these relationships. Thus, following Stone's (1987) logic, the first part of the project will be to determine whether these groups are intentional, enduring, goal oriented, and have strong leadership as prescribed by regime theory (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). In addition, particular attention will be paid to the nature of these relationships as they relate to the development of policies and practices related to sporting events in the city. This will not only provide for a detailed account of the growth coalitions in each city, but also further test the applicability of urban regime theory in this context. Hence, at this point I will return to the literature on sporting events as an urban development tool in order to link the regime agenda to sport in the city. In particular, I focus on academic research that has evaluated the use of sporting events as a mechanism for civic development.

Sporting Events and Urban Development: Research Perspectives

Much of the evaluative literature regarding sporting events assumes the existence of a pro-development coalition of some kind with its own agenda. In particular, for the most part, the academic literature assumes that coalitions see themselves as existing to enhance the economic well-being of the city (Stone & Sanders, 1987), hence creating a range of problematic issues. As discussed previously, sporting events are believed to contribute to this agenda through marketing efforts, increased tourism, economic gains, and other social impacts. This section will review some of the current literature in these areas in order to

understand where there are gaps and what remains to be understood about this process. Much of the literature has focused on large-scale or mega-events; therefore, the discussion will also point to inherent limitations of this narrow view of using sport as a development tool.

The most common rationale put forth by regimes for hosting sporting events are the economic benefits that can accrue. Economic impact studies are often used as a justification for cities to bring in large scale sporting events. These assessments typically use a multiplier analysis, which converts expenditures in the city into net income retained by cities (Baade & Dye, 1988). Early studies of the economic significance of sporting events reported that generally there is no clear pattern of financial benefit to host cities (Ritchie, 1984; Ritchie & Aitken, 1984). In fact, Mules and Faulkner (1996) have argued that civic authorities often lose money as a result of staging an event, despite the fact that events can generate additional income within the city. Cities will often commission impact studies prior to bidding for an event in order to convince the public of the positive influence that an event will have upon the communities. Citizens are led to believe that an influx of tourists with significant spending power will result in new local jobs and increase the overall economic base within communities. However, as Crompton (1995) has argued, these procedures often produce erroneous results due to misguided assumptions about participants/spectators spending, employment opportunities, and a host of other variables. Despite these problems, cities continue to use economic impact studies to justify bidding for sporting events, as it provides a means of quantifying benefits (however erroneous).

Growth coalitions that attempt to rationalize the use of large-scale sporting events for economic development purposes often do so in order to jumpstart broader infrastructure

development projects. In many cases, when a city hosts a large sporting event, new money is earmarked for specific areas for the purpose of developing facilities and the surrounding area for the event. The argument put forward is that hosting a one-off large-scale sporting event will provide a 'kick-start' in terms of branding and promoting the city as a whole, which will result in ongoing economic benefits by attracting new investments and tourists who use other city amenities, such as hotels and convention centres. In this case, it is claimed that the event itself provides the initial image boost that ultimately leads to these other economic impacts, making the event a necessary part of the economic development process. Therefore, the idea of creating a global image provides a rationale for the allocation of scarce resources towards development projects related to sporting events. Typically, local authorities argue that the money put forth for these projects would not have been available without such an event (Burbank, Andranovich, & Heying, 2001). In return, growth coalitions argue that the financial spin off effect from hosting the event will benefit the community as a whole.

The Olympic Games provides a well-researched example of a large-scale event that is often justified for its economic rewards. Prior to 1984, the Olympic Games were not seen as being financially beneficial for a city, or as was the case of the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games, potentially devastating in terms of financial losses (Barney, Wenn, & Martyn, 2002). However, when Los Angeles hosted the 1984 Summer Olympic Games and introduced large-scale sponsorship to the world of sporting events, the financial face of the games changed (Shoval, 2002), and the cost of hosting has since increased. Consider that a city must pay a fee of US$500,000 to the International Olympic Committee and demonstrate financial guarantees of upwards of US$3 billion towards the hosting of the

Games, simply to put forth a bid to host Olympic Games (IOC, 2005). The 2004 Summer Games held in Athens, Greece, demonstrates how a city can still end up paying astronomical costs for hosting this event. In November 2004 the Greek Finance Minister, George Alogoskoufis reported to parliament that the cost for the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens had exceeded 11 billion Euros, approximately double the estimated cost of the event.

Despite the belief that sporting events can be financially profitable for cities, research has helped raise questions about the importance of sporting events for economic development. As described earlier, studies of the economic impact of sporting events have often falsely represented financial figures in order to make these events appear in the most positive light for those involved (Madden, 2002). Indeed, there does exist some controversy regarding the reporting of monies and the calculation process for determining the economic impact of an event. As Chalip and Leyns (2002) have reasoned,

> When governments seek to justify sport event investments through studies of economic impact that they commission, there is some incentive to adopt procedures that yield favourable estimates. When all is said and done, estimates of economic impact are political numbers (p. 133).

Moreover, Baade (1996) determined that sport-related developments are not correlated to increased per capita income or job creation related to these developments. In their study of the 1994 World Cup hosted by 9 U.S. cities, Baade and Matheson (2004) determined that this event actually had a negative overall impact on host cities and on the overall U.S. economy. Nevertheless, urban regimes continue to use sporting events for development because they believe they are economically important.

In addition to broader economic development impacts, a significant amount of research has focussed more specifically on tourism development, as cities have increasingly positioned events as part of a broader tourism strategy aimed at raising the profile of a city. Tourism is often viewed here as a key element that enables communities to regain and/or enhance their economic footholds in regional and national economies. In terms of tourism benefits, research has argued that sporting events can improve a city or region's position in the market (Brown, Chalip, Jago, & Mules, 2002; Roche, 1994), increase the overall number of visitors to a city or region (Higham & Hinch, 2003), and help increase tourist visits during the shoulder seasons (Higham & Hinch, 2002). Thus, as Gratton et al. (2005) have argued, the success of an event cannot be judged merely on the basis of the financial figures.

Chalip, Green and Hill (1999) have suggested that sporting events have become a vital component in the marketing mix of a city due to the fact that they attract visitors and increase media exposure of the destination. Events offer an opportunity for branding the city externally, potentially attracting new tourism revenues, while at the same time creating infrastructure in the form of new and renovated facilities that can be accessed by the local community. As evidenced by the fact that nine cities bid to host the 2012 Summer Olympic Games – the largest sporting event in the world (IOC, 2005), and eight cities bid to host the 2009 IAAF World Track and Field Championships – the second largest sporting event in the world (iaaf.org), hallmark events are highly sought after tools of urban development (Hall, 2004). The major challenge for cities has become incorporating various types of events strategically into the host destination's overall mix of tourism products and services (Chalip & McGuirty, 2004).

Despite the belief that sporting events can increase tourism, there is little consensus about how the garnering of media attention might serve to influence attitudes towards the host city for the better (Van den Berg, Braun, & Otgaar, 2002). Smith's (2005) study of three UK cities determined that potential tourist awareness of a city seemed to increase around sporting events; however, there was little evidence to suggest that increased visitation results from this reimaging. In addition, critics of tourism development have argued that strategies such as the hosting of major sporting events often negatively impact the host community and local residents (c.f. Whitson & Macintosh, 1996; Turner & Rosentraub, 2002; Roche, 2002). In many cases local residents often end up bearing the cost of tourism development and see few benefits in the long term.

Thus, it remains unclear as to whether the alleged tourism benefits tied to sporting events actually come to fruition and create change. Nonetheless, sporting events are perceived as a strategic component in sport tourism related regeneration strategies, insofar as they are connected to the reimaging of places in order to attract and retain capital (Hall, 2004). In other words, pro-growth coalitions believe sport has the potential to do what Smith (2001) calls *multi-sell* development in the city, which means attracting tourism and investments, as well as enhancing community well-being. In this manner, cities and more specifically urban regimes view sporting events as a catalyst for image enhancement and tourism development.

A final area that has not received the same amount of scholarly attention as the aforementioned development impacts relates to the effects that sporting events have on the communities that host them. In the absence of measurable economic and tourism impacts, community development may emerge as the primary means through which hosting events

may be justified or rejected. Although sporting events are often justified on the grounds of potential economic benefits, such as bringing tourists with substantial spending power into the city (Eisinger, 2000), events are now also being justified in terms of social and political returns. Urban developments that have tended toward postmodern malls, festival centres, and other privatized spaces (Hannigan, 1998; Judd, 2003) have often neglected the needs and interests of local citizens. However, arguments can be made that sporting events might offer the potential for less programmed and more culturally based forms of tourism development. In some cases, cities hosting sporting events have used the resulting facilities built for events to house existing or new sport franchises, which allows them to exploit the synergies of events and franchises as re-imaging tools.

Discussions of sporting events that have addressed the social impact of sporting events and professional sports franchises on cities have often argued that events negatively impact upon local communities (c.f. Burbank, Andranovich, & Heying, 2001; Hannigan, 2000; Ingham & McDonald, 2003; Olds, 1998; Mathy, 2003; Whitson & Macintosh, 1996). For example, Smith and Ingham (2001) determined from their study of Cincinnati that professional sport is not an effective means of re-building any lasting sense of community. Many of those who have studied mega-events such as the Olympic Games have argued that these events are purely about the interests of global and corporate elites and leave little social infrastructure for the local community (c.f. Andranovich, et al., 2001; Roche, 2002). From a tourism perspective, Eisinger (2000) contended that cities justify expenditures on sporting events in order to attract tourists to the city and that leveraging of these events has little to do with the citizen well-being or community development. In fact, much of the

critical literature regarding the use of sporting events for social development suggests that little positive benefit can be accrued from cities hosting large-scale events.

The rationale given for these criticisms is as follows. In order to become a 'tourist city', pro-growth coalitions are typically focused on promoting and marketing the image of the city, rather than the social welfare of citizens (Judd & Fainstein, 1999). For many cities, public-private partnerships and/or private enterprises have become the centrepiece of redevelopment projects that serve the goals of regeneration and marketing the city. Often, this results in public outcries as focus is being placed on the goals of marketing and development, rather than the local interests of the public such as education, public works, and environmental concerns. For instance, prior to the construction of the Bondi beach volleyball venue for the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games, there were numerous public protests regarding the funding, construction, and environmental damage that would be caused by this development. Despite the negative public reactions, the Sydney Olympic Organizing Committee went forward, without further consultation with the local community, with the construction of this space (Lenskyj, 2002). This serves as an example of how the goals of tourism and marketing the city can often conflict with local community interests (Hall, 1992; Judd & Fainstein, 1999).

Despite the negative commentaries surrounding the use of sport in civic developments, others such as Jarvie (2003) have argued that we need to further understand how sport can be a significant form of civic engagement, social inclusion, and community revitalization. In addition, Coalter (1998) has argued that "The profit oriented and supposedly exploitive nature of commercial leisure provision does not automatically mean that it does not provide satisfying forms of social membership and identity" (p. 24).

Further, Long and Sanderson's (2001) work on the social benefits of sport indicates that there is "sufficient cause to believe that community benefits can be obtained from sport and leisure initiatives" (p. 201). Given the pervasiveness of sport as a tool used for civic and economic development, the social networks and structures that are built, broken down, renewed, and developed cannot be ignored.

One example of how a city has taken up the approach of using a mega sporting event as a development tool has been the case of Cape Town in its bid to host the 2004 summer Olympic Games (Hiller, 2000; Hall, 2004). Cape Town sought to use the games to contribute not only to the economic transformation, but also the social transformation of the city. In this sense, this city attempted to take the use of a sporting event beyond urban regeneration and use it for improving the social, economic, and political conditions of a post-apartheid city. As Hall (2004) has explained, the bid centred upon using the Games "to create new linkages between people and culture" (p. 199). While Cape Town was unsuccessful in its bid to host the Olympic Games, it demonstrates how some cities view sporting events as part of a larger agenda that needs to be uniquely tied to the needs of the local community. Thus, in moving beyond merely economic and tourism potential, sporting events are being seen for their potential to build social and symbolic capital.

In sum, the hosting of sporting events has emerged as a means for cities to reinvent and reposition themselves in an increasingly competitive global marketplace. In this context, urban elites with pro-growth agendas place sporting events at the forefront of efforts to spur, stabilize, or stop the decline of cities moving away from traditional industries in a global economy. The arguments made for utilizing sporting events include civic branding, economic and tourism development, and the creation of infrastructure to be

used by the community after the event's conclusion (Andranovich et al., 2001; Turner & Rosentraub, 2002). However, these impacts have not always held up to the scrutiny of independent scholarly research, which questions the groups that benefit to the exclusion of others (Olds, 1999; Whitson & Macintosh, 1996). In addition, the degree to which the local community fits into the plans of a city's pro-growth agenda has also been questioned. It is in this area that this study sought to advance the scholarly research agenda. The first step to addressing this research study is to summarize the assumptions that have been made regarding the nature of the hosting of sporting events in cities:

1. Sporting events are conceived, promoted, and championed by urban elites possessing pro-growth agendas (c.f. Austrian & Rosentraub, 2002; Rosentraub, 1999).
2. The benefits to be accrued by hosting events are usually presented in terms of improving/expanding civic profile, and economic and tourism development (c.f. Belanger, 2002; Hiller, 2002; Pennington-Gray, & Holdnak, 2002).
3. These same urban elites typically stand to benefit the most from the successful hosting of sporting events (c.f. Gratton & Henry, 2001; Green, Costa, & Fitzgerald, 2003).
4. In many cases the hosting of events moves forward with or without the tacit or overt endorsement of the local community within the host cities (c.f. Palmer, 2002; Rosentraub, 2000).
5. Sporting events have the potential to substantially impact upon different groups throughout the community (c.f. Olds, 1999; Whitson & Macintosh, 1996).

Although some have argued that sporting events have positive impacts on communities, little research exists outside of research on the inequities between elites and other community members (cf. Delaney & Eckstein, 2003; Horn & Manzenreiter, 2006; Miller, 2002). Thus, there is a need to conduct research relating to the social agenda tied to events. Therefore, this study sought to begin to fill some of that void and explore whether and how urban coalitions use sporting events to serve a wider community agenda.

Methodology

Method

Case studies are one of the most common qualitative research designs as they represent compliant choices regarding approaches of study rather than narrow or limiting research techniques (Stake, 2000). A collective case study design was used to explore each of the cities (Stake, 1995). This design employs a joint study of a number of cases in order to investigate a phenomenon, general population, or general condition. Yin (2003) stated that theory can be used to guide the case study in an exploratory way. When multiple cases are used, a typical format is to provide a detailed description of each case and then present the themes within the case (within case analysis) followed by thematic analysis across cases (cross-case analysis; Yin, 1994). Accordingly, each case individually resembles an instrumental case study as the cases demonstrate similar traits and thus have been chosen to provide insight into a particular issue. Hence, the production of two of the papers, which are cross-case analyses, involved the comparison of the urban coalitions and the perceptions of these elites within each of the three cities. However, in this project, each case (i.e., city) was also chosen due to its unique characteristics, and therefore, exhibited features inherent to an intrinsic case study, which is performed to learn about a unique

phenomenon. Thus, the final chapter developed the differences and insights that each case has provided. Given the presentation of this thesis in paper format, each of the papers may present over-lap in substantive content, and thus some repetition.

For an exploratory investigation of a complex phenomenon such as this, it is important that an ample, yet manageable number of cases are selected (Yin, 1994). More specifically, the sample size should allow for variations appropriate for facilitation of theoretical replication across pertinent dimensions. In determining the sample, cities were sought that have hosted a variety of sporting events of different sizes and levels, and which have used these events as part of civic development strategies. In addition, cities that had much to gain from the use of a sporting events strategy were sought out, therefore, larger more metropolitan cities that already had a distinctive tourism characters such as London, New York, and Toronto, were excluded from the study. Each city has also been chosen because it would lead to a better understanding, and perhaps, improved theorizing about the use of sport in the development community within cities. Therefore, a sample consisting of three cities (Edmonton, Canada; Manchester, England; Melbourne, Australia) that have actively sought a sporting events strategy as part of their civic development strategies was undertaken. All three cities are in Commonwealth countries with similar systems of government, which made the exploration of the urban coalitions fairly similar and relatively comparable. Each city has existed as a second city within their respective countries, often overshadowed by the larger, more globally visible cities such as Vancouver, London, and Sydney (Markusen, Lee, & Digiovann, 1999). In essence, these cities are distinct from large urban metropolises and have much to gain from the use of events as part of urban development. As each of the chapters that has emanated from this

project has been constructed for submission to academic journals, which have manuscript length limitations, the length of city descriptions precludes them from being included in the research papers, and thus is included here as an appendix (See Appendix A).

Data Collection

Six sources of data are commonly used for case studies: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observation, and physical artefacts (Yin, 2003). For the purpose of this study, all but participant observation and physical artefacts were used to elicit information[1]. Extensive public documentation, books, websites, newspaper accounts, and journal articles were used to develop a profile of each of the cities. Public documentation and archival records in the form of policy documentation, media reports, and other city documents, were used to develop an initial understanding of the urban coalitions in each of the cities. Over one hundred and fifty documents, representing more than 7500 pages of data were collected to develop the profiles of each of the cities, and develop the representations of the urban regimes. This process allowed for the identification of regime members, which was crucial to the second stage of the research process.

Semi-structured interviews were performed with key stakeholders identified in the first portion of the study (See Appendix A for interview guide). Purposive sampling is appropriate for this research, as specific individuals were selected based on their knowledge and ties to the researched area (Welch, 2001). This technique decreases the generalizability of the findings, thus results from this study will not be completely

[1] Data collected for this study are also part of a broader SSHRC funded project entitled 'Leveraging sports franchises and sporting events in entrepreneurial cities'; principal investigator Dr. Daniel Mason. A large portion of the data collected for this study is also being used as part of this larger project. The data and the collection process detailed here relates specifically to data used for this project.

applicable to all areas of sport and urban development. Ten interviews with twelve regime members were performed in Edmonton; ten interviews with thirteen regime members were undertaken in Manchester; and eleven interviews with fourteen regime members were conducted in Melbourne[2]. Interviews were carried out with City Mayors, Chief Executives, Marketing Officers, Community Development Officers, and private industry professionals. In addition, interviews were also completed with some peripheral stakeholders (Stone, 1989), such as leaders of community leagues and neighbourhood coalitions, until there appeared to be a repetition of data (i.e., data saturation; Creswell, 1994). This meant that when sufficient data had been collected, similar responses were being elicited, and no new information was emerging from the interviews, the data had become saturated. Interviews were conducted in each of the cities at a location that was convenient for the interviewees, and lasted between 45 minutes and 1.5 hours.

Interview questions were developed based on the documentation and initial visits to each city. In addition, the theoretical framework guided the interview questions, with probes centring on issues of community participation, social inclusion, and city specific community development concerns. The semi-structured interview was appropriate; it does not pre-determine the answers and allows room for the informants to respond in their own terms, yet still allows for questions to be guided towards particular topical areas (Patton, 1987). This was particularly important, given that the interviews often involved questions specific to this project as well as the broader SSHRC project. Having carried out a documentary analysis in advance of site visits (Atkinson & Coffey, 1997), a central focus

[2] Eight interviews included multiple interviewees.

of the interviews was to determine the degree to which the documentation deviated from the subjective realities of the informants.

In order to ensure that ample information was attained, and insure that a variety of interviews were performed, two visits to each city were conducted (with the exception of Melbourne, Australia due to travel distance and expense)[3]. The focal point of each visit depended on the availability of personnel being interviewed in each city. The first data collection in Edmonton took place in August 2003, with 5 interviews being performed. The remaining 5 interviews took place during the second round of data collection in November 2004. Each of these rounds of data collection took place over the course of several weeks as the researcher was residing in Edmonton at the time. The first set of data collection in Manchester took place over the course of 5 days in August 2004 where 6 interviews were performed. The final four interviews took place over 4 days in January 2005. Site visits and archival record collection were performed during each of these visits to the city of Manchester. One visit to Melbourne was performed in July 2006, lasting 11 days, where all research was undertaken including interviews, site visits, and document collection. In order to ensure greater consistency between each of the research sites, documentation for each city was continuously collected throughout the research from August 2003 until August 2006. Thus, at several points during the process, city officials, archival experts, and media personnel were contacted to ensure up to date documentation was available to support interview data.

Informed consent forms and all ethical procedures were followed when performing interviews (Punch, 1986). Potential interviewees were contacted via email or post with an

[3] It should be noted that this project was funded through an SSHRC grant under the direction of Dr. Daniel S. Mason.

information letter (See Appendix B) regarding the project and the research process, requesting their participation in the research. Follow-up phone calls and/or emails were made to each potential interviewee to determine their interest in the research project and to schedule an interview. Upon agreement of an interview, each interviewee was sent a supplementary information letter and an informed consent letter (See Appendix C). The informed consent gave details regarding their rights to refuse participation, or responses to any of the interview questions. It also informed participants that they could choose to have their identities only partially disclosed or remain completely confidential throughout the research process, should they choose. Participants were given ample opportunity to decide on their level of anonymity before any material was formally published.

Data Analysis

All documentation (i.e., policy documents, media reports, etc.) for the first stage of the research was manually analysed in order to explore the development of the urban coalitions. It was not appropriate for this portion of the research project to use computer-aided software, as this process is not a discovery of trends, codes, or themes, but rather a more focused exploration. Thus open exploration was used in order to elicit necessary information regarding the growth coalitions in each city.

All interviews were transcribed verbatim resulting in 586 pages of interview records. Each individually transcribed interview was sent back to the interviewee in order to allow them to review their responses. Further, probes were included with the transcribed interviews, and follow up phone calls and/or emails were made to explore these probes, where necessary. This process not only allowed for further data collection, but also was an important member-checking procedure. In addition, it gave the interviewees the

opportunity to rethink their level of anonymity for this research. In this way, it was possible to check members' own perceptions of their lived realities and allow them time to think and question their own responses and value sets (Welch, 2001). Combined, all forms of data collection allow for triangulation or verification and, thus, increased internal validity (Scandura & Williams, 2000).

For the second stage of the study, QSR Nvivo7, a software program expressly designed for managing large amounts of qualitative data was used to compile pertinent public documentation, and interview data, including field notes and verbatim transcripts. The use of Nvivo7 served as one tool to code and sort the data, helping to discern relationships among the constructs through an iterative process similar to grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). All documentation was also manually coded by the researcher to determine the central themes emerging relating the theoretical construct. This process was vitally important to ensuring an open, exploratory process. Specifically, the process of coding was both descriptive and interpretive focussing on themes and codes pertinent to the theoretical framework. Nvivo7 allowed for further exploration of the data by searching for key words and phrases that emerged from the open coding process within the data sets (Richards, 2005). This allowed for more sophisticated electronic analyses of data to ensure that important codes and themes are not missed (Durian, 2002). The final stage of the research used the framework, codes and themes from the first two stages of the research process to develop useable policy implications for cities.

Sport and Urban Development: The Case of Three Cities

The following section provides a brief overview of the three cities - Edmonton, Canada; Manchester, United Kingdom; and Melbourne, Australia – that were used for this research process. This will provide for the forthcoming chapters.

Case #1 – Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

Edmonton is the capital and second largest city in the province of Alberta with a population of 1,034,945 (Statistics Canada, 2006) - encompassing 35 municipalities. It has one of the lowest population densities of any major North American City. Edmonton is the northernmost large city in Canada, located 294 km north of Calgary. Situated along the North Saskatchewan River, Fort Edmonton, the city's original name was established in 1794 as a fur trading post for the Hudson Bay Company. Named after Edmonton, England, the birthplace of Sir James Winterlake, deputy-governor of the Hudson Bay Company, Fort Edmonton grew slowly until the 1890s when new railroads brought settlers from eastern Canada and Europe. The Klondike gold rush in 1898 provided a great boom for the city of Edmonton as eager prospectors heading north in search of gold often stopped to obtain supplies. Many in search of gold either failed to find any and returned to Edmonton, or decided upon their arrival that the prospect of going further north to the unknown was unwelcome and settled in Edmonton. In 1904, Edmonton was incorporated as a city and a year later designated the capital of the new province of Alberta.

The town of Strathcona was developed when the Calgary and Edmonton Railway Company completed its line from Calgary to a terminus south of the banks of the North Saskatchewan River in Edmonton. The town of Strathcona was named after Lord Strathcona, a pioneer fur trader and clerk who became Hudson's Bay Governor, Member of

Parliament, railway financier and Canadian High Commissioner. The aim was to create a new commercial centre in the Edmonton area. Strathcona grew and prospered in the early 1900s until it amalgamated with Edmonton in 1912 and development shifted to the north side of the river. The area of Old Strathcona has become a centerpiece of historical and cultural activities in Edmonton.

Edmonton continued to thrive in the 1930s despite setbacks caused in part by World War I and a wheat market depression, which led to widespread unemployment. In 1939 with the onset of another war, Edmonton got a boost with the expansion of the local airport to facilitate air traffic to the north. It began to thrive as a northern business centre, and an aviation shipping point for food and medical supplies to the north. In 1942, the construction of the Alaska Highway allowed the city to also become a major ground transportation and supply centre to the far north. Edmonton officially became known as "Gateway to the North" (Found Locally, 2003).

Edmonton's biggest economic boom began in 1947 with a 90-foot gusher of black crude oil in nearby Leduc, just southwest of the city. The pipeline and petrochemical industries were born, and all aspects of Edmonton's economy benefited. In years following the discovery of oil, the city's population exploded, and the accompanying social and cultural boom saw the construction of shopping centres, galleries, theatres and concert halls. The Arab Oil Boycott of 1973 provided the opportunity for the petrochemical industry to gain even greater market share. The oil refineries and oil production remain the basis of many Edmonton jobs. In addition, Edmonton has a wealth of business advantages based on the traditional strengths of the region's resource industries: agriculture, energy, and forestry.

Edmonton currently encompasses 670 km^2, making it one of the largest cities, by area, in North America. Unlike many cities around the world that have seen economic declines related to the fall of manufacturing industries, Edmonton's manufacturing district continues to thrive. Economic growth forces include manufacturing, business services, and advanced technologies. Manufacturing output in the Edmonton area posted a 12.5 per cent gain in 2004, which is indicative of the fundamental strength in the city's manufacturing sector. The city continues to benefit from renewed activity in the energy sector and the CDN$ 37 billion worth of mega-projects under way within the Edmonton service area (EEDC, 2007).

Edmonton also has a long history of successful professional and amateur sports teams. The Edmonton Grads women's basketball team were the first sports dynasty to win acclaim for the city. Between 1915 and 1940 the Grads won 502 games of 522 games they played across Canada and throughout the United States and Europe. The Grads also represented Canada at four consecutive Olympic Games from 1924 to 1936. Since that time, the city has been host to professional hockey, football, baseball, lacrosse and soccer teams at one time or another throughout its history. The city began its run of hosting sporting events with the 1978 Commonwealth Games and soon after hosted the 1983 World Universiade Games. More recently Edmonton has hosted a range of sporting events, including the 2001 International Association of Athletics Federations [IAAF] World Championships, the 2002 Federation Internationale de Football Association [FIFA] Under-19 Women's World Cup of Soccer, 2004 Canadian Figure Skating Championship, and the 2005 World Master Games. These events have been central to the city's tourism

development strategies (Edmonton Planning and Development, 2004; Greater Edmonton Branding Initiative, 2003).

Case #2 – Manchester, United Kingdom

Manchester is located in northwest England. It is often considered to be the regional capital of the northwest of the United Kingdom and the largest economic region outside of London. Greater Manchester metropolitan area is estimated to have a population of just over 2.6 million people. The City of Manchester is the largest district of Greater Manchester and has a population of 392,819 (National Statistics, 2001). Manchester spans an area of only 117km^2, which is relatively small considering the population.

Manchester is considered to be the world's first city of the Industrial Revolution (Quilley, 1999; Williams, 2003). Its history dates back to the Roman era, but it did not become a sizable city until the late 18th century. In 1853, Queen Victoria granted a Royal Charter to the municipality, officially forming the City of Manchester. It was reported that the Queen was amazed at the neatness and orderly behaviour of the population and the cleanliness of the streets (Williams, 2003). Machine based manufacturing of cotton was the driving force behind the expansion and development of the city. This manufacturing business created opportunities for commercial expansion and the transformation of existing residential areas into warehouse space. As the city continued to expand, thriving on the cotton and textile industry into the 19th century, it soon became known as the "foremost commercial, banking and transport centre" (Kidd, 1993, p.103). The mills provided a large number of jobs, which attracted migrant workers from around the country looking for economic prosperity. As a result, by the late 19th century it had become one of the most

overcrowded, unsanitary cities in all of Europe with close to half of the population living in poverty (Williams, 2003).

During this time the city continued to grow at a very fast pace, rapidly putting up a new landscape of mills, warehouses, and commercial offices. During the mid- nineteenth century, while cotton remained the major economic good, Manchester's manufacturing base began to diversify and other markets were stimulated including metals, engineering, transport, and chemicals. The urban core became specialized and by the 1880s spinning and weaving of cotton moved from the city of Manchester into surrounding towns. The opening of the Manchester ship canal in 1894 further enhanced economic prosperity. This allowed for the development of an inland port and "world's first industrial estate – Trafford Park (1905)" (Williams, 1996, p.204). Physically the towns grew closer together as industry grew. The space between Manchester and the surrounding towns (including Stockport, Oldham, Rochdale, [illegible]ton, and Salford) shrank. The metropolitan area emerged as a result of this with Manchester at the centre. This brought about an expansion of the city's financial and commercial services and the area became the largest manufacturing centre in the world, as well as Britain's largest urban region (outside of London). Despite the economic prosperity, working class Mancunians continued to live in overcrowded, unhealthy housing and unsafe neighbourhoods where the life expectancy was no more than 30 years of age.

Between World War I and World War II, employment in textiles dropped by 50% and the export of cotton goods fell dramatically. Factories began to shut down and relocate, increased technology led to job displacement, and the Northwest of England saw massive industrial down turns. With the onset of WWII in 1939, there was an enormous decline of

the cotton industry, and by the 1950s there was an almost universal collapse of mill production. While the city core was able to sustain some economic stability, the surrounding towns and conurbations lost most work and a substantial number of jobs. This meant even more people living in poverty stricken conditions. The crisis in mass manufacturing that affected the Northwest region of England continued to accelerate throughout the 1970s and 1980s, which meant most of the ambitious attempts at redevelopment were unrealized. Between 1972-1984, Manchester lost over 207,000 manufacturing jobs and the service economy did not provide enough replacement jobs to secure employment for the majority of those displaced by deindustrialisation (Manchester City Council, 2005).

Manchester City Council (MCC) is the local authority for the metropolitan borough of Manchester, and is made up of 96 councillors, three for each of the 32 wards. Currently the Labour Party controls the council, and the leader of the council is Richard Leese. The Labour party has controlled the council since 1974; thus many of the initiatives for growth and development have focussed on Labour party programmes related to regeneration, redevelopment, and addressing unemployment. Planning policy guidance on regeneration issues in Manchester has also been guided by the Federal Department for Environment, Transport, and Regions (DTLR)[4]. Numerous DTLR schemes underpin the current strategies for redevelopment and regeneration of Greater Manchester.

On June 15, 1996, a 3,000-pound IRA bomb exploded in downtown Manchester, the largest inland bomb to explode in Britain since WWII. The bomb injured 206 people

[4] In 1997, the Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions was changed to the Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions. The Environment functions spun out into the Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs. Currently, these responsibilities have been reorganized under three departments, the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, the Department of Transport, and the Department of Constitutional Affairs.

and destroyed more than 70,000m^2 of retail and office space. Many argue that the devastation incurred by the bombing led to substantial support for redevelopment efforts in the downtown core (Williams, 2003). Almost immediately a *City Centre Task Force* was put into place to deal with the devastation and steer the efforts towards positive regeneration outcomes. There was substantial private sector investment with an additional £43 million from the federal and municipal governments and £22 million invested by the European Union. The redevelopment efforts have attracted global-companies including 80 of the Financial Times top 100 companies. The core has been rebuilt into a vibrant mix of business, retail, leisure and residential spaces (Manchester Online, 2004).

East Manchester, as the heart of the manufacturing district, was the hardest hit by the decline in manufacturing industries with a loss of 20,000 jobs. However, this area continued to retain an established local community and was the site of early regeneration efforts. The formation of the *East Manchester Team* (1990) and the subsequent *Regeneration Strategy* (1992) were key to the establishment of an agenda for revitalizing this area. These efforts received a substantial show of support when the city decided to bid for the 1996 Summer Olympic Games. While it lost the bid, the city decided to bid again for the 2000 Summer Olympic Games, which resulted in £55 million of public resources being committed to the area. Once again the bid failed, however it provided a focus for the regeneration and fostered new networks and partnerships key to redevelopment efforts. The financial investments were used to improve the area of East Manchester, and build the Velodrome and the Olympic Indoor Athletics Facility. In February 1994, Manchester was selected to bid for the Commonwealth Games in 2002, and committed to build a new

65,000-seat stadium. This time the city won the bid and committed to substantial civic upgrades for the Games.

Sport has long been an important part of the city of Manchester with two well-known football teams: Manchester United and Manchester City Football club. The success of the 2002 Commonwealth Games continues to be used by the City Council as an example of how regeneration efforts can make a difference in the community. The new Sportcity complex, located in East Manchester and associated commercial developments have been designed to aid in economic and environmental regeneration. In addition, efforts continue to improve open spaces and Manchester's Parks Strategy demonstrates a dedication to further development and placing parks and open spaces at the heart of regeneration and communities.

Case #3 – Melbourne, Victoria, Australia

The city of Melbourne was founded in 1835. While there is some controversy over who actually settled on the land first, it is believed that John Batman, an Australian farmer and businessman who sailed north from Tasmania in search of fertile land, founded the city. He helped build the city on land of the Kulin nation, an alliance of several indigenous Australian tribes. The indigenous population had largely disappeared by the 1870s, and most of the Aboriginal people who live in Melbourne today are descended from immigrants from other parts of Victoria. Early Melbourne, known mainly as Port Phillip, thrived as Australia's main export centre for sheep wool until the discovery of gold in 1851. This resulted in population surge, with most arriving by sea. By 1862, the influx of people in search of gold, combined with a high birth rate led to a rapid population growth and the establishment of Melbourne as a viable city. The gold rush lasted 40 years and

government shared in the wealth, investing money into urban infrastructure. In 1891 a spectacular crash brought the boom to an abrupt end with banks and other businesses failing in large numbers. Thousands lost their money and were out of work. The city's growth had stalled and Sydney had resumed its place as Australia's largest and most prosperous city. However, Melbourne retained its status long enough to become the capital of the newly formed Commonwealth of Australia in 1901. This would have a significant impact on the future of the city.

Melbourne remained Australia's capital until 1927, when it was moved to Canberra. Despite this, many services such as the Commonwealth Public Service, the defence forces, and the diplomatic core remained in Melbourne during the war years. The city suffered much financial and moral despair during War times, and urban poverty and crime became central features of Melbourne city life. Following the end of World War II, Melbourne experienced renewed prosperity fuelled by high prices of wool and increased government spending on education and transport. In addition, mass immigration occurred from all over Europe rapidly changing the demography of the city. This translated into new spending on infrastructure for roads, schools, and hospitals. With the rapid growth and increasing wealth of the city, Melbourne caught the interest of the International Olympic Committee, and convinced them to bring the summer Olympic Games to the southern hemisphere for the first time ever. The city hosted the 1956 summer Olympic Games gaining considerable prestige. Davison (1997) argued, "the Games were pivotal to the process of self-definition through which the city, and especially its business and political elite, adjusted to this new paradigm" (p. 65). Through the long struggle to win and retain the games, two separate visions of national and civic progress were pushed by two separate

factions of Melbourne's elites. One vision embodied an entrepreneurial, futuristic, American-influenced business model of expertise put forth by Melbourne business leaders. The other vision was more militaristic, traditional, and imperial, driven by former members of service and amateur athletic officials. These competing visions have become prevalent throughout the city's tumultuous times of growth and development.

During the time following the games Melbourne continued to develop outwards and grow at a rapid pace with many new infrastructure developments. Since the 1970s Melbourne has underwent tremendous changes. The city has become more multicultural with an influx of Asian migrants. Two Universities were established in Melbourne in the 1970s and increasing interest in arts and entertainment led to a growth in the tourism industry. By the end of the 20th century there were 3.8 million people living in the vast urban sprawl of the city. As with many western cities, Melbourne's satellite towns such as Frankston, Ringwood, Sunbury, and Werribee became centres for the manufacturing and industrial sectors, while the inner city suburbs became the locale of the urban middle class.

A financial crash in 1989 forced the sale of the State Savings Bank of Australia. Melbourne's population declined as unemployment grew and the city went into a severe recession. The industrial and manufacturing areas in the west and south of the city declined and became know as relatively 'disadvantaged' areas (Dodson & Berry, 2004). Between 1971 and 1991, Melbourne lost nearly 103,000 manufacturing jobs.

After the financial woes of 1989, Liberal Premier Jeff Kennett was brought in to restore Victoria's finances. Kennett, a charismatic and intimidating leader (Dovey & Sandercock, 2002), made many changes such as cuts to public expenditures, closing many schools, and privatizing tramways and utilities. These changes came at a high social cost,

but did restore confidence in Melbourne's economy leading to growth and development (Mees, 2003). The service sectors, including finance, business and property management, community services, and recreation services had almost doubled by 1996 (Fagan & Webber, 1999).

Sporting events and entertainment have become a central part of planning and redevelopment in Melbourne during the late 1990s. For example, Melbourne Park[5] was built in 1988 to host the Australian Open Tennis Tournament. In addition to the development of numerous sporting facilities, Premiere Kennett sought out and won the right to host the prestigious Australian Grand Prix auto race. The Melbourne Cricket Club (MCC) has a long history in Melbourne with the Melbourne Cricket Grounds being one of the foremost facilities in the country. It has been around since early in the club's history in the 1850s. It has received several upgrades with the most recent upgrade being a AUS$430 million redevelopment project associated with the 2006 Commonwealth Games.

Melbourne's redevelopment has been characterized by regeneration and renewal schemes in the city fuelled by new neo-liberal economic policies. The agenda towards growth and development within the city is a relatively unregulated approach and central government is at the forefront of much of the planning. This city's planning and development agenda continues to evolve, and sport has remained an integral part of that strategy.

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[5] Melbourne Park was originally named The National Tennis Centre at Flinders Park, until 1996 when Premiere Jeff Kennett decided to rename the area, which also includes Olympic Park and Yara Park – Melbourne Park in order to make the name Melbourne more visible to an international audience.

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Chapter 3: URBAN REGIMES AND THE SPORTING EVENTS AGENDA: A CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON OF CIVIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES[6]

Large-scale sporting development projects have come to play an integral role in the growth and development of many cities around the world, as cities compete on a global scale for jobs, tourism, and investment. In some cities, infrastructure for professional sport franchises, such as stadia (Chapin, 2004; Rosentraub, 2000; Santo, 2005) have arguably become showpieces for tourism and economic development, while other cities have used a mega-events strategy (Andranovich, Burbank, & Heying, 2001) such as hosting the Olympic Games to signify their arrival as a global power. In either case, sport-centred developments are employed to assert an image of growth and prosperity in an ever-increasing competitive global environment. To add to this competitiveness, many cities once reliant upon manufacturing industries for prosperity have seen economic declines; in this instance, a sport-centred development strategy is sought as a potential mechanism to regenerate deprived areas of the city and signal a shift to a more service-oriented economy, while representing a substantial public investment (Hall, 2004; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006).

Andranovich, Burbank, and Heying (2001) have described the use of a mega-event strategy that focuses on the use of the Olympic Games as a high profile quest to justify and provide stimulus for local development. However, not all cities have attempted to, or have the capacity to, attract such a high-profile event. Nonetheless, many leaders in these cities have subscribed to the notion that sport can be a catalyst for urban growth and have

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[6] A version of this chapter, coauthored by Daniel Mason has been accepted for publication in the Journal of Sport Management.

employed various scales and sizes of sporting events to showcase their respective cities to investors, tourists, and residents alike. Thus, the strategy of using multiple events is an important part of an image creation and marketing strategy, as well as allowing event proponents to rationalize the allocation of scarce public resources towards the acquisition and staging of events (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Whitson & Macintosh, 1996).

The pursuit of a sporting events strategy itself is a politico-economic platform (Black & van der Westhuizen, 2004) often championed by urban elites. Several theoretical approaches have emerged as a means to explain these new growth politics and governance coalitions, derived primarily from studies of U.S. cities and policies. The most prominent is *Urban Regime Theory* (URT), due to the way it helps place the city within a wider economic, political, and spatial context (Elkin, 1987; Stone, 1989; Ward, 1997). The notion of regimes is used as a tool to describe public-private sector relationships. As one of the originators of URT, Stone (1989) defined urban regimes as "the informal arrangements by which public bodies and private interests function together in order to be able to make and carry out governing decisions" (p.6). Regime theorists contend that in order to fully understand regimes it is necessary to conceptualize power structures "through which governance is purposive and city leaders constructed as goal-oriented agents" (Ward, 1997, p. 182). URT is useful in explaining the linkages between private capital and political power and, in the context of urban growth, the synergies that can be exploited between these spheres of urban society (Pierre, 2005). Thus, urban regime theory is designed to explain the connections between the public and private sectors and the potential partnerships within these domains in cities. Moreover, regime analysis highlights the differences between urban government (political structures in governing the local state) on

one hand and governance (the process of coordinating and steering communities toward communally defined goals) on the other (Stone, 2004).

There has been some controversy over the transferability of this primarily U.S.-focussed theory to other contexts. For example, Lawless (1994) rejected urban regime theory in the context of British cities on the theoretical grounds that the basis for partnerships in the UK is very different than in the U.S. In the United States, the independent public sector, and the relatively decentralised state structure are much different from most Commonwealth countries. This means that in U.S. cities, localities are accustomed to acting more autonomously and entrepreneurially than in many other cities around the world (Ward, 1997). However, U.S. models of urban governance, such as regime theory, that seek to understand why institutions become involved in inter-organizational partnerships, have become extremely important to understanding evolving local development in many countries (Davies, 2003). What makes the regime approach useful for other countries and contexts is that it allows for the understanding of power relationships inherent within the partnerships. In addition, the alleged ethnocentric nature of regime theory stems from the need for more comparative analyses in order to understand the conditions under which different types of regimes emerge, evolve, and collapse (DiGaetano & Klemanski, 1999).

A key issue of regime analyses lies in the role of culture and ideology in the formulation of growth coalitions. Stone's (1989) original theory of regimes assumed that ideology or political orientation had little or no role in urban governance. However, others have disputed this in their reformulation of URT. Stoker and Mossberger (1994) have argued that regimes form around different senses of common purpose such as tradition and

social cohesion (organic regimes), selective projects (instrumental regimes), and ideology or image change (symbolic regimes). Ideology and culture constitute important bases of coalition building and form the foundation of regime character (DiGaetano & Klemanski, 1999). In order to study regimes and how they have come into being, the biases and ideological underpinnings cannot be ignored.

Urban regime analyses have already been used to explain sport-related developments in some cities, both inside and outside of the U.S. context. Pelissero, Henschen, and Sidlow (1991) used the regime approach to account for the development of a sports stadium in Chicago in relation to general development policy in the city. Others have used this approach to critique the well-known sport centred development strategy in Indianapolis (c.f. Rosentraub, Swindell, Pryzvylski, & Mullins, 1994; Schimmel, 2001). However, despite the increasing recognition of the role of sport in urban economies, relatively few studies have specifically addressed the role of regimes in the development of sport event strategies, particularly non-Olympic related developments. Those that have addressed this relationship have typically focused on the role of one event or one sport development project in relation to the role of regimes. For example, Sack and Johnson (1996) used regime analysis in conjunction with Peterson's economistic paradigm to identify key players in the attraction and retention of a major tennis tournament in New Haven, Connecticut. Henry & Parimio-Salinces' (1999) analysis of a symbolic regime in Sheffield, England provided a notable case study of the regime role for the 1992 World University Games as a symbolic project for that city.

The current study extends existing research by examining the coalitions that undergird a sporting events strategy in three cities around the world that have featured

sport-centred development prominently in local development agendas: Edmonton, Canada; Manchester, United Kingdom; and Melbourne, Australia. The first stage of this project is to identify the source of the sporting event strategy and determine the character of the coalitions guiding this agenda. I cannot assume that simply because these cities have an events approach that appears to be guided by coalitions, that an urban regime is guiding the development of this strategy. The aim is to articulate, not only the existence of the coalitions, but also the character of these groupings in order to determine whether the use of urban regime theory serves as an appropriate platform for studying the sporting events strategy within these cites, and how said strategy is linked to the agenda for local community development. To do so, I describe the coalitions that have developed in each city, ascertain if the coalitions constitute regimes, and if so, what patterns they might be taking. I describe this process in greater detail below.

Method

In order to examine these three cities, I use an analysis similar to DiGaetano and Klemanski's (1999) study of modes of governance in British and American cities. As explained by Bennett and Spirou (2006), DiGaetano and Klemanski's work "adds conceptual architecture to regime analysis with the aim of reducing empirical/theoretical inconsistency" (p. 41). This examination entails three analytical components: 1) *Urban political economy,* which refers to the social, economic, and intergovernmental context in which coalition building occurs; 2) *Urban governing agendas,* which are the consequence of the governing process, strategies, and policies guiding the governing coalitions; and 3) *Urban governing alliances,* that consist of the coalitions and power structures which carry out governing agendas (DiGaetano & Klemanski, 1999). Given the focus of studying three

cities in three difference countries, I have employed a cross-national comparison, which determines common traits in urban politics of these liberal democratic countries, such as the informal processes of coalition building and the use of power implicated in governance. In doing so, I recognize that the structural, institutional, and cultural differences among countries can complicate the study of comparative urban governance. In order to overcome some of these difficulties, DiGaetano and Klemanski (1999) have argued that an approach that recognises the differences between countries, but strives to search out the essential commonalities in the politics of cities is necessary. Therefore, this study employs a method of individualizing comparisons, which "contrasts specific instances of a given phenomenon as a means of grasping the peculiarities of each case" (see Tilly, 1984, p. 82-83 – on comparative analytical strategies).

Revisiting urban regime theory, it was important to undertake an initial analysis in order to determine if, indeed, the coalitions in each city did, in fact, constitute regimes. As a result, I use DiGaetano and Klemanski's (1999) model to articulate the coalitions in each city, while at the same time I sought to avoid imposing pre-existing regime classifications upon each city. This follows Dowding (2001), who noted that "the problem with the way in which the regime concept has been used in recent work is that the 'regime' label is being applied to any coalition of forces around a local government and is becoming merely descriptive of the ideology or, less grandly, the policy preferences of that government" (p.7). This also helped to avoid the categorization problems associated with regime analysis identified by Bennett and Spirou (2006), who argued that "regime analysis should take care to avoid imposing the characteristics structures of regime identification and onto the often messy and theoretically nonconvergent details of local political action" (p. 42). Having

undertaken an overview of each city, I employed the criteria developed by Dowding (2001) to determine if each city's coalition guiding the event strategy represents a regime. Having done so, I examine the characteristics of each of the regimes, employing Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) typology of regimes developed for cross-national research.

Results

Summary of Results

As will be discussed below, the results suggest that political and economic history of each of the cities is uniquely tied to the development and character of the growth coalitions. Each of the cities explored here has developed a unique mode of governance. Table 1 summarizes the results of each of the cases by examining the local conditions for growth and development, and the sporting events/infrastructure that has resulted from growth strategies. The economic conditions in each of the cities are an important feature in understanding the rise of a service-led economy. It has been demonstrated that local and state governments play an important role in growth coalitions in each of the cities, as do many public and private organisations. Key players were readily identifiable as related to the overall growth and development strategy, as well as the sporting events agenda. This table also demonstrates some of the key achievements of sporting strategies in each of the cities and, following DiGaetano and Klemanski's (1999) modes of governance, Table 2 summarizes the modes of governance in each of the cities by specifying the urban political economy, urban governing agendas, and the urban governing alliances.

Table 1: Local conditions and sporting events/investments

	Edmonton	Manchester	Melbourne
Economic	Manufacturing and Service	Manufacturing and Service	Service
Structure of Government	Parliamentary democracy: Three tiered – federal, provincial, municipal	Parliamentary democracy: Two tiered – federal, and local authorities	Parliamentary democracy: Three tiered – federal, state, municipal
Examples of Key Organizations	Economic Development Edmonton Edmonton Events International Edmonton City Council Tourism Edmonton Northlands Telus Corporation Acrodex IT solutions MacLab Enterprises University of Alberta Grant MacEwan College	Manchester City Council Manchester Leisure Marketing Manchester MIDAS New East Manchester North West Development Agency New Deal for Communities Manchester Chamber of Commerce Wrengate Ltd Manchester Ship Canal Company	Victoria Major Events Company Tourism Victoria Department for Victorian Communities Melbourne Development Board Victorian Institute of Sport Foster's Group Limited ANZ Banking Group University of Melbourne Victoria University of Technology
Examples of Key Regime Personnel	Former Mayor Bill Smith City Manager Al Maurer Ken Fiske (Vice President, Tourism, Events and Motion Pictures) Rick Lelacheur (President EEDC) Ed Zemrau (Former University of Alberta Athletic Director)	Former Chief Executive Bob Scott Chief Executive Howard Bernstein Leader of the Council Richard Leese Jim Byrne (Manchester Leisure) Sean McGonigle (NDC)	Former Lord Mayor Ronald Walker John Wylie Chair of Melbourne Cricket Ground Trust Minister Justin Madden Minister John Pandazopoulos Mayor John So
Examples of Major Sports Events	2007 Men's World Curling Championships 2006 Women's Rugby World Cup 2005 World Masters Games 2004 World Cup of Women's Baseball 2001 IAAF Championships	2006 Paralympic World Cup 2004 World Track Cycling Championships 2003 UEFA Champions League Final 2002 Commonwealth Games 1997 World Table Tennis Championship	2007 FINA World Championships Formula 1 Grand Prix (yearly) 2006 Commonwealth Games Australian Open Tennis Championships (yearly) 2005 World Artistic Gymnastic Championships

Table 2: Modes of Governance

	Urban Political Economy	Urban Governing Agendas	Urban Governing Alliances
Edmonton	Conservatism: Capital surplus, economic prosperity	Economic development; vague policy agenda	Little formalisation; public and private organisational cooperation
Manchester	Postindustrial declines and revitalisation; service economy	Urban regeneration; economic development; 'Policy thick'	Loose formalisation; widespread public and private sector involvement
Melbourne	Mixed service economy; revitalisation	Urban regeneration; Formal development policies	Loose formalisation; widespread public and private sector involvement

Case #1 – Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

Urban Political Economy

Edmonton is the capital and largest city in the province of Alberta, Canada. The city thrives on the natural resources industries and, unlike many large cities in the Western developed world, has not experienced substantive post-industrial economic declines. Economic growth forces include manufacturing, business services, and advanced technologies. In 1999, Edmonton was reported to have the most diversified economy in Canada and has seen a significant growth in the past several years (Lefebvre, Arcand, Clavet, & Sutherland, 2005). The city continues to benefit from renewed activity in the energy sector and the CDN$ 37 billion worth of mega-projects under way within the Edmonton service area (EEDC, 2007). Given Edmonton's strong economic position, it is interesting that the city has also focussed heavily on increasing its service economy. It has positioned itself as Canada's Festival City due to the abundance of major arts, cultural, and sports festivals and events hosted in the city every year (Edmonton Festival City, 2004). The city has embraced sporting excellence, featuring a self-proclaimed tagline of 'City of

Champions' for its long history of successful professional and amateur sports teams. Edmonton began its run of hosting major sporting events with the 1978 Commonwealth Games and soon after hosted the 1983 World Universiade Games. More recently, the city has hosted a range of sporting events, including the 2001 International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) World Championships, the 2002 Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) Under-19 Women's World Cup of Soccer, and the 2005 World Master Games. These events have been central the city's tourism development strategies and to the city being named Cultural Capital of Canada for 2007 (Economic Development Edmonton, 2007; Edmonton Planning and Development, 2004).

Urban Governing Agendas

The province of Alberta has long been dominated by a right wing Conservative government that guides provincial and local policy. Until 2006, the Liberal Party held the balance of power in the federal legislature, with several high-ranking Members of Parliament, such as former Deputy Prime-Minister Anne McLellan from Edmonton Northwest, representing the city. Despite the apparent political discord between the city and the province, and the provincial and federal governments, the city has succeeded in securing support from both the provincial and federal governments for many of its sporting events. In 1993, the Edmonton Economic Development Corporation (EEDC)[7] was created to formalise a policy agenda focused on promoting a strong, diversified economy and tourism in the greater Edmonton area. It has brought together groups from both the public and private sector towards a more coordinated effort for overall civic development.

[7] The organisation was originally named Economic Development Edmonton (EDE). It underwent restructuring in 2003-2004 and emerged as EEDC in May 2004.

The drive to use and promote sporting events has come from interested players from the public and private sector rather than a specific policy agenda. It was not until 1983 that the first *Sport Canada Policy for Hosting International Sport Events* came into effect allowing interested parties a more strategic focus in order to acquire federal funding and support for hosting events. This allowed coalitions within the city a standardized mechanism for approaching the federal government. Provincial policies have also been formulated, indicating the importance of sport for development purposes. The *Alberta Sport Plan* (Alberta Sport Plan Task Force, 2003) advocated that cities and the province proactively pursue the hosting of major national and international sport events. In addition, the *Hosting Program* of the Alberta Sport, Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation (2006) "encourage(s) the development of sport, recreation, parks and wildlife programs by providing financial support to communities and associations to assist them in hosting major events thereby promoting economic growth throughout the province" (p. 2). These documents represent the only official policies relating to the use of sporting events for development purposes in Alberta.

Urban Governing Alliances

The loosely formed group of individuals who were responsible for acquiring and organizing the early sporting events in Edmonton, such as the 1978 Commonwealth Games, have been vital in securing the city's long-term, sport-related growth strategy. The key players in the sport strategy have been the municipal government with a series of supportive Mayors and city councillors, and a City Manager interested in a service-based strategy, with sport as a central feature (EDE, 2002; EDE, 2000; Greater Edmonton Branding Initiative, 2003). In addition, private corporations such as Telus Corporation,

Acrodex IT solutions, MacLab Enterprises (a rental property holder), and Finning CAT (a construction equipment dealer) have been directly involved in these developments. Where in some cities Universities and Colleges tend to be auxiliary players in the development strategies (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001), the University of Alberta, the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT), and Grant MacEwan College have been aggressive and influential partners in the urban and economic development strategies, particularly as related to sporting events (EEDC, 2005).

Institutional partners, together with a number of high profile citizens, have been the drivers of a growth strategy centred on sporting events. Over the years, there has been little formalisation of a policy agenda surrounding this effort, but names of prominent philanthropists and citizens appear frequently on bid documents, and policy strategies surrounding events. It was not until 2001, when two separate groups bidding for a major sporting event presented requests for federal funding at the same time, that the major players took notice of the lack of formal coordination of this policy effort (EEDC, 2004). Finally, in 2004, Edmonton Events International (EEI) was formed. This organisation is a mix of community expertise from both the public and private sectors that dedicates itself "to positioning Edmonton as one of the world's most desirable event host cities" (EEI, 2005). The mission of this group is to strengthen Edmonton's international image, create a solid collection of events, maintain a group of expertise devoted to a common vision of growth and development, and to provide opportunities that strengthen Edmonton's cultural and sporting community. To date, the group has been successful in securing events such as IAAF Half Marathon World Championships, World Handball Championships, and the IRB

Women's World Cup of Rugby. EEI works closely with EEDC, local sport organisations, private corporations, and municipal government to plan and organise events in the city.

Case #2 – Manchester, United Kingdom

Urban Political Economy

Manchester is the regional capital of the northwest of England and the largest economic region outside of London. It is often considered to be the world's first city of the Industrial Revolution (Quilley, 1999; Williams, 2003). Following World War II, the industrial-manufacturing sector began to experience economic difficulties, and Manchester underwent severe decline. Between 1951 and 1981 the inner city lost over 52% of its inhabitants and the rate of unemployment grew dramatically. By 1981, inner city unemployment was over 20%, and featured rundown housing, industrial wasteland, abandoned factories, and out of work residents. In 2000 the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions commissioned a study of poverty, health, and social exclusion, which resulted in the Index of Multiple Deprivation. The study demonstrated that some of the areas in and around Manchester were among the most deprived areas in the country (DETR, 2000). Recent bids to host sporting events have been tied to regenerating deprived areas of the city, including two unsuccessful bids to host the 1996 and 2000 summer Olympic Games. In 1996, the city centre was devastated by an IRA bomb, which proved to be a turning point in the redevelopment efforts for the city, as a substantial amount of money was spent on rebuilding the city's infrastructure (Williams, 1996).

Urban Governing Agendas

The political structures in British cities have undergone changes over the last few decades, which have resulted in some alterations to local political governance in the city of Manchester. A focus of regeneration in the 1980s was on investment in property renewal; more recent commitments to regeneration have focused on localism, such as fostering economic growth, job creation, social renewal, environmental upgrades, and housing support. Manchester City Council is the local authority for the metropolitan borough of Manchester, and is made up of 96 councillors, three for each of the 32 wards. Currently the Labour Party controls the council, and the leader of the council is Richard Leese. Labour party initiatives for growth and development have focussed on entrepreneurial programmes related to regeneration, redevelopment, and tackling unemployment, particularly inner city renewal. Graham Stringer, who was the leader of MCC in the late 1980s and 1990s was integral to Manchester's transition from an industrial to a post-industrial economy. Since this time partnerships with both government and the private sector have become the principal axis of the local economic development strategy (Quilley, 1999).

East Manchester, as the heart of the manufacturing district, was the hardest hit by the decline in manufacturing industries with a loss of 20,000 jobs between 1972-1984. As part of the efforts for regeneration, the city bid (unsuccessfully) for both the 1996 and 2000 Summer Olympic Games. The Olympic bids were led by a coalition of the city's 'movers and shakers' from both the public and private industry (see Cochrane, Peck, & Tickell, 1996). Although the city lost both bids, £55 million of public resources were committed to the area of East Manchester for the 2000 Olympic bid. The partnering of groups for these bids has been argued by some to be merely coalitions formed for the acquisition of grants

and other government resources (Quilley, 1999). However, private sector partnerships became more than a framework for bidding and getting grants – they have increasingly been the catalyst for local economic development in Manchester.

Urban Governing Alliances

There is a complex array of organizations and individuals involved in the regeneration agenda in the city of Manchester; however, much attention has been paid to the role of a few key individuals and their efforts to bring sporting events to the city of Manchester. Throughout the 1980s, the efforts to bring the Olympic Games to Manchester were the focus of an elite group of individuals, a group some have referred to as the "Manchester Mafia" (Cochrane, Peck, & Tickell, 1996; Peck & Ward, 2002). This group involved key people from numerous public and private organisations such as Marketing Manchester and the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. This group, which was the 'establishment' in Manchester during the 1980s and 1990s, was focussed on ensuring growth and economic prosperity in the city (Robson, 2002).

In February 1994, Manchester City Council successfully bid for the 2002 Commonwealth Games, and committed to build a new 65,000-seat stadium. Initially the bid for these games followed a similar model to the Olympic bids, however there was increased strategic partnering and a policy agenda more clearly focused on regeneration and enhancements to east Manchester (NWDA, 2004). A key driver in the bids for the Olympics and the Commonwealth Games came from the private sector chairman, Bob Scott, who has since gone on to lead the city of Liverpool to its title of 'Capital of Culture', and helped London secure the 2012 Olympic Games. Influential leadership for this bid also came from the current Leader of the Council Richard Leese, and current Chief Executive

Sir Howard Bernstein. They were partnered with public organisations such as Manchester Leisure, North West Regional Development Agency, New East Manchester, and local community groups. In addition, many of the same private partners such as Wrengate Ltd., and the Manchester Ship Canal Company that had been involved in previous bids, were again part of the overall strategy. Members of the board for the governing associations for the Commonwealth Games also came from a number of semi-private organisations such as Marketing Manchester, and Manchester Investment and Development Agency (MIDAS).

Leading up to the 2002 Games, Manchester hosted several other high profile events such as the 1996 and 2000 World Track Cycling Championships, the 1997 World Table Tennis Championships, and the 2002 British Diving Championships. Closer scrutiny of those involved in, partnered with, and providing funding for, these events reveals many of the same names from the 'establishment' and companies reappearing as part of the groups involved in organising. However, there are so many different organisations with similar or overlapping agendas that it is often difficult to decipher this maze. Economic and social development organisations such as the Chamber of Commerce, The Manchester Partnership, and the Manchester Community Network are just a few of those involved in the extensive and reaching arm of Manchester's development networks. In addition, the University of Manchester, and Manchester Metropolitan University have been particularly important to the growth and development strategy, particularly in relation to commerce, culture, and regeneration.

Some have argued that the chaotic proliferation of initiatives in recent years in the city of Manchester and the absence of a citywide forum to tie together these schemes were creating instability for long-term success (Ward, 2003). It has been estimated that there

were some 80 sources of funding for different forms of urban regeneration in Manchester and it has been the goal of the newly created MCC Events Unit to unify these efforts. The aim of the unit is to develop and promote a programme of activity in line with the City's brand values and supports the Council's corporate aims and objectives (MCC, 2006). MCC has a policy initiative to continue to use an events strategy for growth, development, and regeneration. The proliferation of partnerships has become even more complex, but for the most part the same key strategic public-private partners are driving these strategies.

Case # 3 – Melbourne, Victoria, Australia

Urban Political Economy

Melbourne was founded in 1835 as a shipping port and expanded steadily throughout the first half of the 20th century, driven initially by a gold rush and later by the influx of post-World War II immigrants. As the first capital of Australia, Melbourne garnered enough global recognition in the first half of the 20th century to convince the International Olympic Committee to move the 1956 Summer Olympic Games to the southern hemisphere for the first time ever. The city experienced economic declines during the 1980s. In 1989, a severe market crash forced the closure of the State Savings Bank of Australia, and Melbourne's population declined as unemployment grew and the city went into a recession. Melbourne's growth and redevelopment agenda began in earnest during the 1990s following the market crash. After the financial woes of 1989, the Labor government was pushed out of office and the Liberal party was brought in to restore Victoria's finances. Liberal Premier Jeff Kennett, a charismatic and intimidating leader (Dovey & Sandercock, 2002), made many drastic changes such as sweeping cuts to public expenditure, closing many schools, and privatizing tramways and utilities. These changes

restored confidence in Melbourne's economy, leading to growth and development (Mees, 2003), as the service sectors, including finance, business and property management, community services, and recreation services almost doubled by 1996 (Fagan & Webber, 1999).

Sporting events and entertainment venues were a central part of planning and redevelopment in Melbourne during the late 1990s. For example, Melbourne Park was built in 1988 to host the Australian Open Tennis Tournament. Liberal Premier Jeff Kennett was integral in persuading the Australian Grand Prix to move from Adelaide to Melbourne, and despite opposition from local government and citizens, many changes to urban development local policies were made in order to accommodate the state's desires for this urban growth project (Lowes, 2004). Under Kennett's regime, the *Melbourne Major Events Company*[8] (VMEC) was set up in order to attract large-scale events to the city of Melbourne. In 1987, a bid was put forth to host the 1996 Olympic Games with a focus on regeneration of the Docklands area. Despite the failure of the bid, it was an important phase in the development of a strategic planning framework for the city and in particular the Docklands area (Dovey & Sandercock, 2002).

Urban Governing Agendas

Melbourne's development has been characterized by regeneration and redevelopment schemes fuelled by new neo-liberal economic policies. The central planning tasks focussed on attracting large volumes of investment through lenient development policies such as *Living Suburbs* (Department of Planning and Development, 1995), and a largely deregulated control of local development. The Liberals were unexpectedly defeated

[8] In 2001, MMEC became the Victoria Major Events Company (VMEC).

in 1999, and the Labor government shifted the policy planning agenda towards more power sharing, community participation, and environmental responsibility (Mees, 2003). After 18 months of policy development, they produced a document entitled *Melbourne 2030*, which reflected proposals from officials in the Department of Infrastructure, but little community participation or power sharing. However, the document has continued the agenda towards growth and development within the city, yet it is a more controlled approach where central government is at the forefront of much of the planning.

As part of the local government's commitment to sporting events as a tool for growth and urban redevelopment, the city has implemented several policies. The *City of Melbourne Sports Policy* (2002-2006), states that, "through involvement and participation in sport, Melburnians and visitors will achieve positive social outcomes and healthy lifestyles to ensure that the City of Melbourne capitalises on the positive health, social and economic benefits of sport" (City of Melbourne, 2002, p. 1). The policy promotes the notion of leveraging tourism and commercial opportunities off major events being staged in Melbourne. The central feature of this policy rests on promoting Melbourne as a 'sporting capital'. It also outlines the various roles of partners such VMEC, and the Victorian Institute of Sport. The *City of Melbourne National and International Sports Marketing Policy* (2003-2008) addresses the role of the City of Melbourne and other partner organizations in ensuring that the city is represented as a "world class sporting city" (City of Melbourne, 2003, p. 5). It draws together the sports marketing elements from the Sports Policy, the Melbourne Marketing Strategy, and City Plan 2010, with the intention of ensuring that sport continues to play an integral role in the promotion and development of the City of Melbourne.

Urban Governing Alliances

In recent years, the City of Melbourne and the State of Victoria have moved towards a more mutually beneficial partnership (Melbourne City Council, 2004). They have worked together on several major projects such as the reacquisition of the Docklands. Given the instability of the local government, it is not surprising that many local private organisations have emerged with a focus on the marketing and growth of Melbourne. VMEC continues to play a major role in the growth and development strategy centred upon sporting events in the city of Melbourne. The board of VMEC is made up of representatives from some of the most prominent corporations in the city, such as British Airways, Foster's Group Limited, Coles Myer Limited, The Australian Gas Light Company, ANZ Banking Group, University of Melbourne, Victoria University of Technology, and Tourism Victoria (VMEC, 2006).

The neo-liberal policy agenda that has persisted in the state of Victoria – despite a shift back to the Labor government – has continued to fuel the interests of private corporations interested in the regeneration and marketing of Melbourne. Private businesses have driven the development of the entertainment complexes in the city. For example, former Lord Mayor of Melbourne (1974-1976), Ronald Walker, has been integral to the events strategy in the city. Not only has he been involved in almost all of the major sporting event developments in the city since the 1970s, his property development company – Hudson Conway – also developed the Crown Casino complex in Melbourne. John Wylie is another example of 'mover and shaker' in Melbourne. He is a Rhodes scholar, an investment banker and the architect behind the commercial sell-off of Victoria's power and gas companies, and Chair of Melbourne Cricket Ground Trust that was responsible for the

AUS$430-million redevelopment of the MCC stadium for the 2006 Commonwealth Games.

The local government in Melbourne underwent many changes since the 1980s. In 2000, the State Government announced a review of the electoral structure of the City of Melbourne. The results included a new electoral structure for Melbourne City Council. Changes included directly electing the Lord Mayor and Deputy Mayor and the way Councillors are elected. John So became the city's first popularly elected mayor in 2001, and was re-elected for a second term in 2004. He has been an ardent supporter of the sporting events strategy in Melbourne. While the City Council has begun to take a stronger leadership role in the development efforts, partnership between public and private sectors have become the foundations for development in Australia. All policy documents relating the use of sport and sporting events in Melbourne emphasize the need to continue and renew partnerships between the public and private sector.

The *Department for Victorian Communities* and *Sport and Recreation Victoria* have also played a significant role in the management and coordination of Commonwealth Games and other major sporting events to ensure that a positive legacy is left for the local communities (Department for Victorian Communities, 2005). To emphasise the importance of these events to Melbourne, there are two State Ministers with a portfolio relating to major events in Melbourne and Victoria. Minister for the Commonwealth Games, Mr. Justin Madden, and Major Events Minister, John Pandazopoulos, have helped to bridge the gap between local and state governments allowing a more integral partnership between each level of government and private corporations (Melbourne City Council, 2005). The roles of the various partners are encapsulated by the City of Melbourne Sports Policy,

which seeks to maximize the links between community and government groups with sporting interests. With a plan to enhance the already extensive partners involved in the events strategy, the policy outlines the use of a Sports Advisory Body consisting of sports administrators from key sporting organisations and sporting venues, and further creating links with Telstra Dome and the Dockland Advisory Council to ensure that these civic resources are integrating in the sporting strategies. In essence, the key players and the governance structures in the city seek to continue to actively promote Melbourne as a 'sporting capital'.

Discussion

The previous section has used DiGaetano and Klemanski's (1999) model in order to describe the conditions under which a sport-centred development agenda has emerged in three cities. While there are significant differences between the cities in this study, each has a distinctive coalition guiding the use of sporting events as a growth and development strategy. Progrowth agendas in all three cities have been set by a combination of government officials and economic interests (primarily business elites). This meshing of stakeholders from both public bodies and private interests working through a negotiated agenda would appear to resemble an urban regime in each case. To discuss this further, I turn to Dowding's (2001) work on identifying coalitions as regimes. As explained by Dowding (2001), in order for coalitions guiding urban development strategies to be considered urban regimes, they: 1) must have a distinctive and enduring ideology or policy agenda, 2) are not a formal part of any existing institution, 3) cross institutional or sectional boundaries, and 4) survive leadership and personnel changes, and political successions, with the policy agenda remaining intact. In keeping with the method of individualizing

comparisons, I have interrogated the urban governance in each city described above to determine whether the coalitions in Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne fulfill the aforementioned criteria representing unique instances of urban regimes in each city.

Urban Regimes: Interrogating the Coalitions

As responses to changes in the political-economic environment, "city policy agendas have been fashioned by coalitions of city government officials, business leaders, and community activities in ways that reflect local political alignments" (DiGaetano & Klemanski, 1999, p. 4). In each of the cities in this study, a distinctive ideology exists surrounding a growth and development agenda. However, it is only within the last several years that a more formalised policy agenda, particularly surrounding the use of sport as a development mechanism, has arisen. In Edmonton, no formal policy exists regarding the use of sport for development; however policies that guide this process do exist at the provincial and federal levels. Nonetheless, a sport-centred growth ideology has been present in Edmonton since the 1970s. With the foresight and belief that Edmonton would benefit from the use of events for development, many of that city's 'movers and shakers' have made this happen. With the development of EEDC in 1993, a more structured agenda was formed around the use of leisure and entertainment activities in order to attract tourism and investment to Edmonton. Manchester's growth agenda has been centred upon the revitalisation of several areas in and around the city. Ward (2003) has termed the growth agenda in Manchester as 'policy thick' in that no one area has been subject to so many policy initiatives. While Cochrane, Peck and Tickell (1996) argued that Manchester's policy initiatives resembled a grants coalition, after the 1996 IRA bombing of downtown Manchester, policies began to centre more on tourism-led activities in order to revitalize the

city. The recent addition of the Events Unit to the Manchester City Council signifies a more unified approach to the use of sporting events as part of this growth ideology. Melbourne has the clearest policy agenda centred on the use of sporting events as part of the overall development ideology. With organisations such as VMEC and the Melbourne Development Board having agendas that include the use of sporting events, and formal city council policies regarding the staging and marketing of events, Melbourne has an explicit policy schema guiding the revitalisation and growth process in the city.

As mentioned above, Dowding (2001) also argued that the urban regime cannot be part of any existing institution. In each of the cities studied, no one formal institution was driving the growth agenda. Several organisations arose over time to accommodate the changes and the development agenda, but these represented only one part of the coalition that was guiding the agenda. In Edmonton, EEDC arose as a means to formalise the policy agenda around growth and development, but is not the only partner involved in the growth strategy. Numerous public and private corporations have been involved in the attraction of capital, tourism and investment. Both Manchester and Melbourne feature a number of different organisations and groups that are part of the redevelopment efforts. VMEC is perhaps the most formalised organisation centred upon the use of sporting events for growth and development, yet it only represents one player in the vast network of institutions involved in Melbourne's growth strategy. It is interesting to note that both Edmonton and Manchester have also recently created more formal institutions, EEI and Manchester Events Unit, to guide the process of bidding for and acquiring sporting events. Again, these organisations are but one player in a larger process of development; however they demonstrate the focus on sport as a central feature of the growth agenda in each city.

Thus, each city clearly meets Dowding's (2001) second condition required for regimes to exist.

A third key feature of urban regimes is that the actors and institutions involved cross institutional boundaries and sectors (Dowding, 2001). This implies that institutions are unwilling, unable, or simply not empowered to act unilaterally in activities of urban economic development. Unlike U.S. cities, where private corporations tend to drive regimes (Stone, 1993; Stoker & Mossberger, 1994), public actors and institutions drive the growth agendas in Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne. In each case extra-local forces such as politics and economic conditions have affected the existence of the regime. The wider political economic context has actually driven regime formation in each of the cities. In Melbourne and Manchester the motivation from the public offices is set against the processes of competitive allocation of regeneration funds, increasing competition within the country for investment, and the creation of local neoliberal policies that have forced groups into coalitions. It is against this backdrop that the formation of public-private partnerships has been occurring in all three cities. While there is no doubt that public institutions have driven the growth agenda in each city, it is partnerships with private corporations that have been integral to ensuring that a sporting events strategy succeeds in each of the cities. Private organisations have not merely been supporters or funding partners in these cities, but rather have been integrally involved throughout the growth process that persists and continues to develop.

Dowding's (2001) final condition required to identify a coalition as a regime necessitates that they survive leadership and personnel changes, and political successions. This is particularly relevant for Manchester and Melbourne. These two cities have

undergone significant political restructuring and shifts in leadership; however the agenda for growth and development has remained intact. Not only has there been reorganization at the city level, but there have also been political shifts at the state level in Victoria, which have affected the regime in Melbourne. Nonetheless, the regime agenda has persisted and sport has remained a central feature of this agenda since the mid 1990s. In Edmonton, while there has been relative political stability, there have been changes in leadership with the most recent Mayoral replacement in 2004. The regime agenda and the public and private sector leadership have remained reasonably stable and focussed on growth through the use of sport and leisure-led strategies.

Classifying Urban Regimes

The product of coalition building establishes the character of a regime, the composition of the governing coalition, and its policy agenda (Stone, 1993). Different types of regimes have distinct policy agendas determined by the coalition of regime participants (DiGaetano & Klemanski 1999; Dowding 2001). In this case, it is particularly interesting that the sport-centred strategy appears to be a direct part of the regime agenda, not a subsidiary policy network. Building on this notion, I now draw upon Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) typology of urban regimes in order to more clearly understand the regimes in Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne. As mentioned earlier, Stoker and Mossberger (1994) identified three types of regimes relevant for cross-national comparative research: organic, instrumental, and symbolic. An organic regime seeks to protect the status quo by conservatism and exclusivity. Instrumental regimes tend to be short lived, characterized by an orientation toward project completion. The symbolic regime is based on the perceived need for a new image in cities wishing to change direction. For symbolic

regimes, the objective of economic growth is mediated by a sense of 'value' based upon the chosen image of the city. Thus, I argue that the coalitions guiding the process of using sporting events for growth and development in Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne represent *symbolic regimes*.

Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne are all second cities in their respective countries often overshadowed by the larger, more globally-recognised cities of Vancouver, London, and Sydney. While the use of a sporting events strategy in each of the cities has been a means to fulfill numerous civic goals, a common theme for all of the cities has been the use of sport as a symbolic (re)presentation of the city. In Edmonton, the city has long struggled with the image of being a cold, isolated, northern city with little to draw tourists away from the nearby Rocky Mountains or the better-known Alberta neighbour of Calgary. As a result, sporting events are being used a means to represent the city as a vibrant, prosperous place to visit, invest in, and live. Manchester has endured the fate of a northern industrial city, offering little to visitors in the shadow of global tourism destinations like London and Edinburgh. While sport has been used as part of an overall revitalisation strategy, particularly in East Manchester, a major theme has been representing the city as a world-class tourist destination, and sport has played a major role in this effort. Similarly, Melbourne is a less-recognised Australian destination than its neighbour, Sydney. Again, the sport-centred strategy has been a symbolic project for the city to be represented as a destination. In each case the symbolic regime is focussed on an "attempt to change fundamentally a city's ideology or image" (Stoker & Mossberger, 1994, p. 201).

The purpose of a symbolic regime is transition. The objective of this transition is understood more clearly by examining the subtypes of symbolic regimes (Stoker &

Mossberger, 1994). The first is the *progressive regime*, which is similar to Stone's (1993) middle-class progressive regime. In the case of progressive symbolic regimes, economic growth is not necessarily an end in itself but rather is an activity that coincides with the regime's broader values about what the city represents. This represents what is happening in Edmonton. Given that the city remains economically prosperous without the widespread use of service activities, the use of entertainment, tourism, and leisure activities to promote the city are more about creating a positive image of the city and attracting tourists and more investment. EEDC and EEI coordinate the efforts for growth and development using sport; however it is not necessarily the economic ends that are of primary interest to these organisations. Sporting events are used as catalysts for a broader tourism and image enhancement strategy. The members of the urban regime represent a broad range of organisations including large private corporations with interests beyond merely creating a new revenue stream for the city as a whole. Both public and private partners have subsidiary interests in being involved that match the regime agenda of image enhancement. This strategy offers the city a chance to demonstrate not only to visitors, but also to local citizens alike that Edmonton is a vibrant and important city. Thus, the regime is attempting to promote the intangible benefits of events, as a way to offset the financial investment put into events (Rosentraub, 2006).

The second type of symbolic regime, the *urban revitalization regime*, attempts to transform a city's image in order to attract capital and investment. The ultimate goal of this strategy is to facilitate economic development. Manchester and Melbourne more closely represent examples of an urban revitalization symbolic regime. Given that both cities have experienced economic declines and have turned to service-led activities for economic

growth, the revitalisation theme is appropriate. In Melbourne, since the time Premier Kennett was elected to office and attempted to alter the ideological growth agenda in the city towards an entertainment driven economy centred upon sport, the city has continued on this path as a means of regeneration. The regime has persisted and continued to use sporting events as part of the strategy to attract investment opportunities to the city. Similarly, the Manchester grants coalition (Quilley, 1999) was redirected with the IRA bombing creating a greater focus on an overall growth agenda. The federal government initiatives regarding urban regeneration afforded Manchester's regime an increased opportunity to use sport as a catalyst in the revitalization goals of the city and central government. In conjunction with the regeneration efforts has been a strong focus on reimaging Manchester as a vibrant place to live, work, and visit. This is demonstrated by the organisations such as NWDA, GoNW, and Marketing Manchester that are involved in the sport and regeneration efforts.

Unlike Henry and Paramio-Salinces' (1999) account of Sheffield, where sport was used as *the* way to develop a new identity, Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne have used sport as one of many ways for growth and development. Sport has been the central feature in the reimaging efforts representing the new rhetoric of the local image creation, which seems to be deeply intertwined with the processes of global capital accumulation, and uneven development. In essence, it appears that the growth regime in each of the cities has sought to equate the interests of business and the ideology of progrowth with the interests of the 'city as a whole' (Schimmel, Ingham & Howell, 1993). Given that many studies of sport demonstrate that it has no significant long-term effect on growth rates, and investment in sporting event related resources is merely a diversion that serves to

exacerbate uneven outcomes within the city (cf. Noll & Zimbalist, 1997), why have these regimes continued to pursue said strategy? Perhaps the symbolic importance of sport for these cities is more important for its overall growth strategy.

Conclusions and Future Research

The purpose of this chapter was to examine and identify urban growth coalitions in three cities, in three different countries that have used sporting events as a central strategy for development. In order to do so, I employed an individualizing comparison using urban regime theory to explore the urban political economy, urban governing agendas, and urban governing alliances in each of the cities. The results demonstrate that there is variation among the cities' development agendas, the rationale for employing a sporting events strategy, and the process of regime formation. There are also some interesting similarities between the cities in that the regimes have all employed a reimaging strategy that is central to the regime agenda. While there are similarities between the coalitions in the cities, and it appears that a symbolic regime exists in each of the cities, due to the differences between the cities there does not appear to be any one way of predicting the development of said regime, nor the use of a sport centred strategy.

By turning to Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) reconceptualisation of regimes for comparative analysis as a means to explain the coalitions in these cities, I have avoided the pitfalls of ethnocentrism, which implies a view from only one's own culture, and voluntarism, which subjectively suggests one grouping is better than another. These have created problems for urban regime researchers in the past. The notion of partnerships in these three cities from three different Commonwealth countries accommodates the various combinations of partnerships and groupings relevant to ideological change and regime

maintenance in each of the settings (Henry & Paramio-Salinces, 1999). Secondly, the charge of voluntarism that often goes along with studies of regimes is overcome by the comparison among cities where dependent-independent relationships between local regimes and national institutions influence regimes. Further, the broader social context in which regimes were formed in each of these cities has helped to overcome the voluntarism often associated with a focus on local social production in regime analyses (Stoker & Mossberger, 1994).

While the discussion above has identified the types of regimes putting forth sport-centred development strategies in each city, this review reveals little about the social impact of regime politics in each of the cities. Using regime theory to identify the coalitions in each city results in a tendency to concentrate on political leadership and strategy formulation at the expense of other aspects of urban development (Sites, 1997). Part of the importance of the urban regime approach is that it represents an elite pluralist position, which recognises that access to local politics is uneven. Stone (1989) noted that the basic criteria for regime formation implies that private resources and the motivation to participate are unevenly distributed. The result is that regimes tend to be heterogeneous, and as demonstrated by the three cities here, opposition or community participation is relatively muted. Thus, while the employment of regime theory here has helped move beyond local government politics and address the wider sphere of urban governance, it has not addressed alternative local development strategies and community values such as economic localism, community stability, and human capital development (Imbroscio, 2003).

There are two central areas of interest that emanate from this study that warrant further research. Firstly, it appears that the crosscutting theme for civic agendas in all three

cities is symbolic representation. However, whereas Manchester and Melbourne have seen economic declines, Edmonton has not. Melbourne has had formalised policy around sporting events and an institution devoted to obtaining these events for some time, yet Edmonton and Manchester have only recently formalised these agendas. In Manchester, local government has a strong and vital government agenda towards civic revitalisation, where in Edmonton and Melbourne, the local government has no 'real' power. Future research needs to be undertaken to understand further the nature and role of these regimes in each of the cities. Longitudinal work would also help to reveal a greater clarity regarding the role of these regimes in the long-term outlook of the cities, as well as provide insight into the cycle of how regimes emerge, evolve, and collapse.

The second area that warrants further attention is the underlying rationale for the use of sporting events as part of a wider growth and development agenda. It appears that sport is being justified as a reimaging tool, as a well as an economic growth mechanism. Given the inclusion of few community interests, and the fact that a social inclusion agenda has come to the fore in both the UK and Australia, how do urban coalitions perceive the use of sport as part of more general community development and community networking practices? It has been argued elsewhere that sporting events may also serve as a means of developing social capital (Misener & Mason, 2006). Chalip (2006) argued that event organizers and community planners can foster social interaction and a sense of community through informal social opportunities, ancillary events, and theming in order to build social networks and empower communities towards action. Further research is required to understand the role of growth coalitions in the social leveraging of sporting events for social and community development.

Finally, as Sellers (2005) pointed out, "comparative urban politics has the opportunity to speak to the wider field of comparative international studies about the emerging character of politics, policy, and the state". This chapter presents a small step towards using and understanding the importance of comparative studies in the domain of urban studies. However, it was limited by the deliberate choice of cities. Future research must involve greater cross-national comparison among developed and developing cities and nations from around the world. This perspective of comparative analyses will not only contribute to the understanding of sport and urban politics but also to the many other fields of study struggling with problematizing the evolving nature of cities, societies, and politics around the world.

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Chapter 4: FOSTERING COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THROUGH SPORTING EVENTS STRATEGIES: AN EXAMINATION OF URBAN REGIME PERCEPTIONS[9]

Governments around the world, particularly in western nations, have embraced neoliberal policies as a means of improving global economic competitiveness. Neoliberalism is associated with an narrow urban policy repertoire based on capital subsidies, place promotion, supply side interventions, central city makeovers, and local boosterism – all designed to get a step ahead of the competition (Jessop, 2002; Peck & Tickell, 2002). Sporting events have emerged as a key neoliberal entrepreneurial endeavour (Hall, 2006) for cities seeking to attract and retain mobile capital (Harvey, 1989; Kearns & Philo, 1993). Events are deemed unique opportunities for business and political elites to secure resources for development efforts and promote the city in the global marketplace (Andranovich, Burbank, & Heying, 2001; Hall, 2004). Yet, as Hall (2006) has argued, "the sustainability of place competitiveness strategies, let alone its real benefits are increasingly questionable" (p. 67).

Despite growing concerns about the economic and other benefits of hosting sporting events, the strength of the neoliberal discourse of competitiveness and the desirability to host sporting events by urban growth coalitions remains strong. It is for this reason that it is important to find ways of addressing the potential of sporting events to have positive impacts upon host communities. Jarvie (2003) has argued that sport can be a significant form of civic engagement, social inclusion, and community revitalization. Long

[9] A version of this chapter was won the North American Society for Sport Management (NASSM) 2007 Student Research Paper Competition, and was presented at the NASSM Conference in FT. Lauderdale, FL, June, 2007.

and Sanderson's (2001) work on the social benefits of sport indicates that there is "sufficient cause to believe that community benefits can be obtained from sport and leisure initiatives" (p. 201). One example of how a city has taken up the approach of using a large-scale sporting event as a development tool has been the case of Cape Town, South Africa, in its bid to host the 2004 summer Olympic Games (Hiller, 2000; Hall, 2004). Cape Town sought to use the games to contribute not only to the economic transformation, but also the social transformation of that post-apartheid city (Hiller, 2000). While Cape Town was unsuccessful in its bid to host the Olympic Games, sporting events are now being recognised for their potential to build social and symbolic capital.

Chalip (2006) has argued that research needs to address "how sport can be used in conjunction with other elements of community's product and service mix to bring about particular economic outcomes" (p. 7). In addition, it has been argued that the challenge is to determine how to develop and market sport events in ways that foster community (Green, 2001; Chalip, 2006). It is at this juncture that this research explores the potential role of sport for community development and social inclusion. This chapter represents the second stage of a larger project examining how cities' sporting event strategies are tied to a general community development and community networking agenda. The first stage of the project focussed on the coalitions that undergird a sporting events strategy in three cities around the world that have featured sport-centred development prominently in local growth agendas: Edmonton, Canada; Manchester, United Kingdom; and Melbourne, Australia. Edmonton is a relatively young, isolated, northern Canadian city that has been economically prosperous. Despite its growth and affluence through the oil and gas, and manufacturing industries, the city has also pursued a strategy of leisure-centred service

activities in order to attract tourism and investment. Manchester, often referred to as the first city of the Industrial Revolution, underwent severe economic and social declines in 1970s and 1980s. In order to counteract these forces, and attract jobs, tourism, and capital, the city has turned to leisure-led regeneration efforts such as sporting events like the Commonwealth Games, which the city hosted in 2002. Melbourne is also a comparatively young city that has experienced both times of growth and economic recession. This city has long used leisure and sporting activities as part of cultural and economic growth, but has more recently tied those strategies to urban regeneration and tourism development.

The results of the first portion of the study demonstrated that the coalitions guiding the process of using sporting events for growth and development in Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne represent symbolic regimes. The second stage of this project, and the focus of this chapter, is to examine the perceptions of members of these regimes regarding the use of sporting events for broad based community outcomes, in particular the symbolic attempts to foster benefits for groups outside the urban regime. It has been argued elsewhere that sporting events may serve as a means of developing social capital (Misener & Mason, 2006) and contribute to community development (Hiller, 2001). Therefore, understanding the role of growth coalitions in the formation of a social and community agenda around event strategies is key to developing a hosting framework that includes socially inclusive activities that foster cities' community development objectives.

Urban Regime Theory

Along with the emergence of neoliberal policies of capital accumulation, place promotion, and growth strategies, has come the development of new theories of growth politics and urban governance. The most prominent of these, urban regime theory, is used

as a tool to describe public-private sector relationships. As one of the originators of urban regime theory, Stone (1989) defined urban regimes as "the informal arrangements by which public bodies and private interests function together in order to be able to make and carry out governing decisions" (p.6). Regime analysis highlights the differences between urban government (political structures in governing the local state) on one hand and governance (the process of coordinating and steering communities toward communally defined goals) on the other (Stone, 2004). Thus, urban regime theory explains "the linkages between private capital and political power and the potential synergies that can be exploited between these spheres of urban society" (Pierre, 2005, p. 447).

Stoker and Mossberger (1994) have argued that regimes form around different senses of common purpose such as tradition and social cohesion, selective projects, and ideology or image change. Ideology and culture constitute important bases of coalition building and form the foundation of regime character (DiGaetano & Klemanski, 1999). In the context of sport as a tool for urban development, urban regime theory has been employed as an explanatory tool in numerous contexts such as Schimmel's (2001) critique of the sports-led growth strategy in Indianapolis; Pelissero, Henschen, and Sidlow's (1991) account of the construction of a sports stadium in Chicago; Sack and Johnson's (1996) study of a major tennis event in New Haven; and Henry and Paramio-Salcines' (1999) research on symbolic regimes in Sheffield. In each of these studies, local regimes used sport strategies in order to focus their policy agenda around a common purpose.

Given that different types of regimes have distinct policy agendas determined by the coalition of regime participants, Stoker and Mossberger (1994) identified three types of regimes relevant for cross-national comparative research: organic, instrumental, and

symbolic. An organic regime seeks to protect the status quo by conservatism and exclusivity. Instrumental regimes tend to be short lived, characterized by an orientation toward project completion. The symbolic regime is based on the perceived need for a new image in cities wishing to change direction. For symbolic regimes, the objective of economic growth is mediated by a sense of 'value' based upon the chosen image of the city. The coalitions guiding the process of using sporting events for growth and development in Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne represent symbolic regimes. Edmonton is an economically prosperous city where sport is used to promote and create a positive image of the city, attract tourists, and bring in more investment opportunities. Thus, the coalition in Edmonton represents a progressive symbolic regime, where financial growth is not necessarily an end in itself, but rather, an activity that coincides with the regime's broader values about what the city represents. Coalitions in Manchester and Melbourne represent urban revitalization regimes, which attempt to transform a city's image in order to attract capital and investment. Both cities have undergone economic and social declines in recent history, and thus the use of sport centred strategies is targeted at combating this degeneration, in addition to marketing and promoting the city.

Community Development

In order to understand the underlying context for the research, it is important to address the concept of communities and community development. Craig (1998) argued that community development is often thought of as a localized approach to problem solving. In this sense, community implies both a geographical proximity of persons, but also some commonality that binds people and networks together. In this way, it differs from the wider context of the city which inherently suggests geographical dispersion, and varied

groupings, networks, and interests. For the context of this research, community development is about building active and sustainable local communities based on social justice and mutual respect. It is about changing power structures to remove the barriers that prevent people from participating in the issues that affect their lives. McMillan and Chavis' (1986) theoretical characterization of community development offers a holistic approach to the development of a community's human, economic, social and environmental resources to stimulate opportunities for membership, influence, mutual development of social capital. While the context of communities and community development differs across organisations and cities, this view of community development focuses on the principles of local empowerment, participatory governance, demand-responsiveness, administrative autonomy, greater downward accountability, and enhanced local capacity (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990).

Method

Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne were chosen for this cross-national study because they have hosted a variety of sporting events of different sizes and levels, and have used these events as part of civic development strategies. In addition, each of these cities has existed as a second city within their respective countries, often overshadowed by the larger, more globally visible cities such as Vancouver, London, and Sydney. In essence, these cities are distinct from large urban metropolises, which already have an idiosyncratic tourism character (Shoval, 2002). Thus, from the perspective of local elites, the city has much to gain from the use of events as part of urban development. Each city was also

chosen because it will lead to a better understanding – and perhaps improved theorizing about – the use of sport in the development of community within cities.

As discussed above, the initial stage of the project led to the determination of key players in the urban regimes, which guide the process of using sporting events for development. Thirty-one semi-structured interviews were performed with 39 members of the urban regimes. Interviews took place in each of the cities between August 2003 and July 2006, varying in length from 45 minutes to 1.5 hours. Given the nature of the growth coalitions, interviews consisted of personnel such as City Mayors, Chief Executives, Marketing Officers, Community Development Officers, and private industry professionals. Interviews were performed with these 'primary' regime members and some 'secondary' regime members (Stone, 1989), such as leaders of community leagues, and neighbourhood coalitions until there appeared to be a repetition of data (i.e., data saturation; Creswell, 1994).

Interview questions were developed based on the initial analysis of documentation. In addition, the theoretical framework guided the interview questions, focusing on the sporting event strategy, community participation and partnerships, social inclusion, and city specific community development concerns. All interviews were transcribed verbatim, resulting in 586 pages of interview records. Documentation, such as municipal government documents and transcripts of pertinent meetings, was also collected a priori online and during visits to each city in order to corroborate data collected from interviewees and other public documentation. Over one hundred documents were collected, representing more than 7500 pages of supporting data. All data were manually coded (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and managed using N7 qualitative software (Richards, 2005), then critically analyzed to

explore the perceptions of regime members and reflect upon instances where growth coalitions sought to meet the interests of local community. The following results section will present findings from the coded data for each city, as well as representative examples supporting this data.

Results

Analyses of the significant amount of data collected from the interviews and documents revealed that the community development agenda was perceived very differently in each of the cities. Not only did the supposed meanings behind community development differ, but also the degree to which the hosting of sporting events could – and has been – a part of this agenda was perceived differently. In order to represent the variations, results will be presented independently for each of the cities focusing specifically on issues of community particular to the city, and the relevant themes that emerged from the data. In addition, examples of where urban coalitions sought to meet the interests of the local community in addition to their own interests were extracted from the data and are used to corroborate regime members' perceptions about community development initiatives.

Edmonton – 'The City of Champions'

Members of the urban regime in Edmonton did not perceive the use of sporting events as part of a specific community development agenda. Rather, the general neoliberal ideology of community, meaning the city as a whole (Smith & Keller, 1986), was used as a way to demonstrate that everyone in the city would benefit and feel a greater sense of community simply by virtue of events occurring in the city. Regime member responses to questions about community and community development focused on issues of civic pride,

economic development, and enhanced reputation in the national and global community. "Civic pride is one of the number-one benefits of events" (Business Unit Manager, Northlands Park Inc.). Little attention was given to the issue of community as a locally defined concept, nor did any of the respondents speak specifically about the ways in which events can or are being tied to specific local social development initiatives.

Some regime members referred to the general sense of community, such as the Executive Director of the Edmonton Sport Council who stated, "Edmonton is using sport as an economic driver, as a driver to build the community through building a sense of community; or perpetuating that sense of community that I already have". His referral to this feeling of community relates to the city as a whole and the citizens' pride in the sports teams and events strategy. Other regime members made similar comments, referring to a reputable schedule of community-run festivals and events, as well as outside perceptions of the city being a distinct and close-knit community. The Vice-President, Economic Development for EEDC argued that,

> We are very uniquely positioned, the Edmonton person –typical type of person that lives in Edmonton – is very community minded and very volunteer oriented and kind of amateur sport oriented...I think there is a lot of pride in the community.

Despite these positive comments, other regime members, including one Board Member of EEDC, had more difficulty articulating what a sense of community implied. Others also questioned the presence of a general sense of community, despite what the reputation appears to be outside of the city. The Manager of Sport Services with the Alberta Community Services Department also raised concern about the real ability of the city to tie

its sense of community to big international events that the city hosts for economic and political reasons.

Regime members also seemed unaware of, or unconcerned about, opposition to events and development in Edmonton, despite that there has been much opposition to large events such as the IAAF Track and Field Championships (MacDonald, 2001), and the Champ Car Grand Prix. (Kuzma, 2004). Many interviewees perceived that all Edmontonians endorsed the events strategy and felt strongly that there were corresponding inherent social benefits to event hosting. When questioned about whether community members spoke out about the disturbances or the lack of perceived benefits for local communities, a Business Unit Manager from Northlands Park, Inc., responded, "We have that [opposition], you know, [during events] when I have curfews and those kind of things, but they never stop an event, they're just too important". Generally, regime members felt that opposition to events was relatively small and saw this as a direct consequence of the city's sense of community spirit. "My opinion would be more a sense of community, you've got people here that don't have a lot of tolerance or just get in the way for the sake of getting in the way, I think that I have a generally more business oriented approach" (Vice-President, Edmonton Tourism, Events & Motion Pictures). However, the former Executive Director of the Edmonton Federation of Community Leagues pointed to political principles under girding the lack of community centred values in the city,

> In terms of that bigger stuff, sort of the 'social conscience NIMBY-ism,' if you want to call it that, that's definitely not here. I mean, it's sort of the nature of the beast in Alberta; I don't think they're at the same level of social awareness and responsibility that you get in certain other cities.

One area that regime members felt very strongly about was in the strong volunteer support local citizens had for the sporting events in Edmonton. The former Edmonton Mayor commented on the "tremendous volunteer support" which was the driver of events in the city. While other regime members did not necessarily link volunteer support to community development activities surrounding an event, many interviewees did comment on the ease of obtaining volunteer backing for events, acknowledging that the extensive volunteer network that appears to exist in Edmonton is integral to perpetuating the events agenda.

Several members of the regime perceived a shift in the way that community and event legacy would be treated in the future. While currently, the events agenda seems far from being linked to issues of community and community development in the city, some members indicated that there were new attempts to push this agenda. The Sport Services Manager with Alberta Community Services pointed out that there is now a growing expectation of legacy, "People have to understand that legacy isn't just about bricks and mortar; there are lots of other things. And certainly, the hope would be that the legacy would include something that would improve access after the event has left". The recently created Edmonton Events International (EEI), whose goal is to increase the strategic positioning of the city through a successful events portfolio, has also begun to recognise the need for more community benefit. The Sales Manager for Meetings and Business Travel for Edmonton Tourism is a board member of EEI. He acknowledged that one of the EEI board members constantly reminded him that:

> community needs to be looked after, and there's a legacy concern, and legacy goes far beyond economic. A formal structure for us to deal with that I don't think it is in

place at this stage, but I believe it's something that we're already aware of, in trying to make sure that it's in our strategic planning.

Thus, while regime members perceived that there has been little attention paid to community development and benefit linked to events in the past, some are at least beginning to recognise the importance of this issue.

Manchester – 'Original Modern'

Manchester's use of a sporting events strategy is tied to the redevelopment and revitalisation of the city as a whole, and more specifically particular areas of the city that had become neglected and dilapidated. Notions of community and community development, for members of Manchester's urban regime, centred upon localized areas of neighbourhoods, communities of interest, as well as a general sense of community well-being for the city as a whole. Many of the members of Manchester's regime held a progressive and optimistic view that sporting events offer the potential to contribute to the numerous community development agendas throughout the city, and in particular to areas targeted by events initiatives. One such area is that of East Manchester, which is a region that has seen significant social and economic declines, and has been the focus of the major regeneration efforts surrounding the hosting of the 2002 Commonwealth Games. Hence, most of the discussion with members of the regime tended to focus on these efforts and the developments surrounding the communities of East Manchester.

Generally, members of the urban regime felt very strongly about the ties between the city's events agenda and local community development interests. "Manchester's agenda has [focussed on] grassroots community benefit rather than just simply the event" (Deputy Head of Manchester Leisure). Regeneration initiatives have been at the heart of community

programming in and around Manchester, and thus it is not surprising that regime members focussed on issues of regeneration in their discussion of communities and community development. The Manchester City Council Chief Executive summed up the general feeling of the links between the community regeneration strategy and the hosting of the 2002 Commonwealth Games:

> ...we were only interested in hosting these Games because of the wider regeneration impact, because there was an agency there which had no other purpose – it had nothing to do with the organization of the Games, but everything to do with making sure that beyond the Games, they were actually putting in place a sustainable program of social and economic improvement.

The inclusion of New East Manchester Ltd.[10] as an integral and ongoing partner in the events strategy was seen by numerous regime members as demonstrative of the efforts towards social inclusion. East Manchester's New Deal for Communities Co-ordinator argued that the inclusion of local people in the decision making process throughout the lead up to the Commonwealth Games was a distinctive way of ensuring local community involvement. "We resource them, we support them, we help them, we train them, we work with them, we make sure the structures are in place, with residents' groups involved in every single level of decision making."

One of the central perceived benefits of hosting events in the city was the legacy of infrastructure that is provided for the local community. Manchester's regime members reinforced the notion that meeting the interests of the local communities was a driver of

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[10] New East Manchester Ltd is a partnership initiative between Manchester City Council, English Partnerships, the North West Development Agency and the communities of East Manchester. Its mandate is to lead the physical and social regeneration of East Manchester, recognized as one of the most deprived areas in the country.

infrastructure developments made in the city for events. The Head of Manchester Leisure described the belief that the model Manchester uses is considered relatively unique in that facilities are designed for much more than the events:

> In terms of community benefit, I would argue that Manchester's model is pretty well set up. Because what we did at the very beginning is recognize what the sports policy of the city would be, what the actual interest needed to be, the facilities for the games had to be – and we merged them all together. So we started early on in designing the buildings for community use and for major events as opposed to only for major event and wondering how we would do it the other way (Head of Manchester Leisure).

In this sense, regime members felt strongly about the ties between the events and ensuring that local community members had access to the facilities. In some cases, specific agreements were set up with Manchester Leisure and the local schools to ensure that members of the local community were accessing the facilities. "You go to Sportcity[11] and you'll see schools using the facilities, and stuff like that, as well as the elite athletes. There is not one facility I can think of that's a white elephant" (Marketing Manchester Marketing Campaigns Manager).

In addition to the perceived assurance that local communities had access to the facilities, other regime members commented on the ways that interest groups played an important role in facility development. "So, lots of that work was done in the years prior to stadium being built. And one of the country's lobbying organizations, the Federation of Stadium Communities, we worked quite closely with them; they actually used us a bit as a

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[11] Sportcity is the sporting precinct including the English Institute of Sport, the National Squash Centre, the Regional Tennis Centre, the National Cycling Centre, and the, Manchester City Stadium.

model for practice for being involved in community development" (East Manchester Sport Action Zone Manager). Thus, not only did regime members feel that the formidable ties between the infrastructure and community development were an integral part of their success, but they also believed that other organisations had adopted their successful practices for community development.

One example of an attempt to ensure community contribution cited by regime members was the development of the car park and parking scheme around Sportcity, including the stadium built for the Commonwealth Games now used by Manchester City Football Club. Local community groups and residents that would be directly affected by the new stadium were involved in designing of the car park and parking area. When initial concern was raised about this issue, the Head of Manchester Leisure recounted,

> I think we reacted very quickly to anybody saying its not working or what will happen, and we reacted positively. It wasn't just consultation – for example the car parking scheme in and around the stadium, driven by local east Manchester, was designed by residents.

Thus, while to a certain extent, it appears that these types of activities and consultation were reactionary, urban regime members believed strongly in attempting to ensure that local residents had input into the activities and developments in their area. They perceived these activities as being key links to capacity building, development of social capital, and community relations.

Volunteer support surrounding the events strategy emerged prominently in the interviews with Manchester regime members as a way to connect to community members. Many regime members viewed efforts surrounding the Commonwealth Games, such as the

Pre-Volunteer Program, as a unique way to tie the interests of community members to the event. This program targeted local communities with a specific interest in providing training and skills relevant to job training (See Jones & Stokes, 2003 for an analysis of this programme). Chief Executive of New East Manchester explained the perceived importance of these links,

> We worked very hard in making the Games and the facilities that hosted them relevant to the people in the City; and a lot of time and effort from going into the large-scale volunteer program, the notion that people could actually get involved directly, in a small way participate in the process, and we were overwhelmed by the response to that.

The support of volunteers for the ongoing events strategy has been perceived as a legacy demonstrative of the city's ability to tie into the interests of communities and connect local people to the development strategies.

Despite the generally positive feeling about the regime's ability to link events to the interests and needs of the local community, there were some interviewees who did express concern about the true ability of event hosting to connect to community development concerns. One of the central concerns expressed in the interviews was the ability to convince games organisers, event managers, and the international sporting community of the need to ensure locally relevant activities during sporting events. "They don't make the connection. What they do is make the economic development connection, the facility development connection, and they're happy with generally the PR and the profile of the event" (Deputy Head of Manchester Leisure). Thus, while often members believed that there were greater opportunities to ensure local community development benefits, they

struggled with event specialists who came in from outside the city to run events. Some felt the there was an inherent tension between the job of running a successful event and the goals of contributing to community development and local development.

> I had the task within the [Commonwealth] Games to try and bring the balance back, and I understand that that is their job, they go from games to games to games, but if those people and the organizations are going to make our business and our industry better, they should leave some of it behind (Head, Manchester Leisure).

Some secondary regime members such as neighbourhood coalition members, and community development officers expressed the ongoing concerns that the local community has about disruptions in the neighbourhood, the outsourcing of jobs and industry, and inequitable development activities surrounding events in the city (Community Development Worker and Social Enterprise Catalyst, East Manchester Community Forum; Marketing Manager for New East Manchester Ltd). However, they generally believed that these problems were superficial and the regime was working towards a better model of community development and consultation. The Head of Manchester Leisure explained:

> We had all of these consultation problems and our resolution to that was an inclusive approach. So from the very beginning we included local community consultation, national government body, local club consultation of sports, activities, and then as you move towards the actual games making sure it's not just participation, but it's access to events, it's jobs, it's making sure local people have the training to get the jobs. So that strategy was an absolute key to Manchester's success. And the only reason we wanted the games were all those reasons. It wasn't the sporting event per se; it was about all the benefits it could bring.

Thus, while there are likely some problems associated with community involvement and development, regime members believed that there were definite ways of ensuring positive ties between community development and sporting events. Further, they believed that they had implemented many positive activities, while also acknowledging that they still had a long way to go. "The jigsaw puzzle is to make sure a major event, major venue, community benefit, long-term benefit, community capacity building, you get all those together" (Chief Executive of New East Manchester Ltd).

Members of Manchester's urban regime interviewed for this study clearly believed that the hosting of sporting events could serve as a source of community development. They felt strongly that they had made concerted efforts to tie event activities in the city to a community building agenda through the inclusion of local community members in decision-making, consultation practices, and direct involvement in games activities. Most importantly, they perceived the ties between the community based organisation, New East Manchester, and the development activities surrounding the Commonwealth Games as a key way to meet the interests of community members. Interestingly, regime members saw Melbourne as a model of events and community development to aspire to: "[It's] going to take a few years to get that up to the Melbourne level. We're not there, but we are a sporting city" (Head, Manchester Leisure).

Melbourne – 'The Sporting Capital'

Melbourne considers itself to be the 'Sporting Capital' with an illustrious record of hosting events and sporting activities. In addition to its distinction as a well-established city for successfully hosting sporting events, the urban regime members interviewed in Melbourne felt very strongly about the connections between events and community

development activities. In particular, they perceived their strategies and examples of ties to local community interests to be unique and a model to be adopted by other cities. Similar to Manchester, notions of community centred upon localized areas of neighbourhoods, communities of interest, as well as a general sense of community well being for the city as a whole. More specifically some – including a Group Manager – Industry Development, Sport and Recreation Victoria and a General Manager of Major Events, Sport and Recreation Victoria – referred to the definition of community offered by the Department for Victorian Communities, "By communities we mean groups of Victorians who share a common sense of belonging and where there is trust between members" where commonalities can refer to geographical location, interest, and/or identity (2006, What is Community Strengthening?, 2).

Many members of the urban regime suggested that their interest and focus on tying sporting events to community development issues has not always been so strong. Problems with some of the previous sporting developments in the city have been well documented (Lowes, 2004; Mules, 1998) and there continues to be opposition to event activities in the city. The current state Labor government was highly critical of the previous Liberal government's "failure to make the events have a community benefit, and in some ways this criticism was that events were really to the detriment of community" (Group Manager – Industry Development, Sport and Recreation Victoria, Department for Victorian Communities). Thus, the shift to a Labor government at the state level was a key indicator for regime members that events needed to make a greater contribution to community and community development. Sport and Recreation Victoria used to be in an economic development department - State and Regional Development. The Labor government

decided that "sport is about community and there are important sport and community benefits" (Group Manager – Industry Development, Sport and Recreation Victoria, Department for Victorian Communities). Subsequently, the responsibility for sport and the events agenda was shifted to the Department for Victorian Communities, signalling, "a recognition that sport, but also events, are fundamental to our way of life in communities" (General Manager of Major Events, Sport and Recreation Victoria, Department for Victorian Communities).

In addition to the State government, which is a major player in ensuring that the regime is being attentive to community development initiatives, local government officials also indicated the need to ensure that events are tied to the concerns of community members and are used for capacity building. The Mayor of Melbourne indicated that,

> Every single expenditure, it doesn't matter where the money is allocated, there is always room for a very public type scrutiny, and also consultation. We engage the broader community, to ensure that there is a passionate debate, and of course when funding is allocated, it is about ensuring the best interests of the city, to serve the interests of Melbourne.

While to a certain extent this may serve as political lip service regarding the role and duties of the local government, all regime members interviewed cited the intensive consultation process that came along with the hosting of events. This suggests a strong perception among regime members that public scrutiny and consultation in the event process is key to engaging the local community and ensuring active participation.

In addition to the perception that community consultation was part of the process of events, one Melbourne City Councillor pointed to the city's six strategic objectives, one of

which is to be 'inclusive and engaging'. "We want to be an inclusive and engaging city. And I see sport as playing a tremendous role in that. To me sport is the ground level" (Melbourne City Councillor). Regime members felt very strongly that sporting events – regardless of the size and scale – could play an important role in achieving this objective. While there was a distinct acknowledgement that the city was not at the point of completely fulfilling these objectives and there were still problems with the way some of the events and planning are structured – particularly with the ties to community level development – many discussed working towards that goal.

> I think that both ends of the scale and everything in between are important, and can be inclusive and engaging. My concern with the bigger events is that often times they do become elitist with the deals, the way they are run, the price of tickets (Melbourne City Councillor).

The method in which the infrastructure for sporting events has developed and continues to be an integral part of the events process was viewed by regime members as a key factor in the engagement of communities. Melbourne Olympic Trust, owned by the people of Victoria, runs the sporting precinct. Regime members perceived the fact that the site is run by a Trust, as key to ensuring that citizens benefit from the facilities. As the Chief Executive Officer of Melbourne Olympic Trust explained, "The Trust has to examine every time what is good for the people of Victoria, and how do they maintain and live up to their charter". The Group Manager – Industry Development, Sport and Recreation Victoria, Department for Victorian Communities, extended upon this by explaining "the model of building infrastructure here is that its basically a community infrastructure first, that can be used for major events". While there is some variation between facilities in the city of

Melbourne, all regime members felt very strongly about the public access policies for the facilities that meant that not only were the facilities used for the events, but also almost all are 'reasonably' priced public access facilities. "It's certainly an important factor that you and your kids can pretty much go down and play on Margaret Court Arena, which is the third court for the Australian Open, and people really get a kick out of that" (Manager, Sport and Recreation Victoria).

In addition to the public access rhetoric that surrounded the infrastructure developments in Melbourne, regime members felt very strongly about their event ticketing policy as a way to ensure ties to local community members. The Sports Event Ticketing (Fair Access) Act (2002) was designed to regulate the sale and distribution of tickets to sporting events to ensure fair access, control ticketing scalping, and improve major event ticketing practices. Regime members discussed the ticketing policy as a crucial way to ensure that events did not become overly elitist and that local communities continued to have access to participate in the events. Many constituents also discussed specific practices such as giving away tickets to local community groups, volunteers, and service organisations as part of the attempts to make major events feel more a part of the community and development activities.

A key feature for regime members in ensuring local community interests and needs are met through the events, is the engagement of various organisations in the process of development. As a result, not only does the regime consist of the typical public and private groups such as local and state government, marketing organisations, and tourism industry professionals, but also periphery members, which includes local neighbourhood coalitions and grassroots organisations such as Melbourne Development Board. The Executive

Officer of Melbourne Development Board explained the role of this organisation as an economic and community development agency, with the central responsibility "to be an advocate for our individual regions, to look at our labour market, at community issues, the business issues, and say what's missing, what can we do to improve this situation". In this sense, when large events are hosted by the city, they play a role in ensuring the local communities benefit from the event. As an example, he described his organisation's role in relation to the Commonwealth Games (held in 2006),

> [We worked] to increase the uptake of local providers to the games, the people who do the catering and the security, so there were thousands of those jobs available. What we were trying to do is to improve the access of unemployed people. Instead of those jobs just going to the usual suspects all the time, when this company gets a contract, and they want a whole lot of food prepared, or whatever it is that they need; we were working with Centrelink to improve the access of unemployed people to access those jobs (Executive Officer of Melbourne Development Board).

Once again the overwhelming support of volunteers was perceived to be evidence of Melbourne's ability to connect with local people and ensure capacity building. The city adopted a similar program of volunteer recruitment and training as Manchester's Pre-Volunteer program. The Chief Executive Officer of Victoria Major Events Company explained the significance to ensuring these links are made, "I think a lot of the [volunteer support] has been quite good and really has moved in a strong way, and been quite successful. Treat volunteers well, give them respect, and give them the right justification…Melburnians love their major events". In addition to the perceived support and respect for volunteerism by regime members, many also discussed the role of sport

volunteerism in contributing to social interaction and community development. "The other thing is with community development and notions of social capital that go along with that is the avenues sport provides for giving, volunteerism" (Industry Manager, Sport and Recreation Victoria). Within this context, there was also a high level of self-awareness regarding some of the problems that do come along with sport such as commercialism, elitism, and over competitiveness. Regime members from Sport and Recreation Victoria perceived that one of their central roles was to minimize these negative aspects of sport and events, and maximize the positive opportunities for sport organisations and volunteers. "I think [volunteerism] is a key indicator of how sport develops community capacity and community strength...so we spend quite a bit of time on that" (General Manager of Major Events, Sport and Recreation Victoria, Department for Victorian Communities). Thus, not only were many members of the regime attentive to the need to connect with local communities, but were also aware of some of the underlying problems of relying on sporting events for development.

Discussion

Stone (2004) argued the majority of members of a given regime favour economic development over community development. The results of the present study do not dispute this; however some regime members perceived a need to be attentive to community development issues as well. There are two central areas worthy of discussion here that relate to both the perceptions of regime members regarding community development issues, and the character of regimes in so far as fulfilling an agenda of community centred activities. The following discussion will address these two areas as related to the literature on sport and community development.

Regime Perceptions

A regime represents an accommodation between the potentially conflicting principles of the popular control of government and the private ownership of business enterprises. It appears that the regime in Edmonton has adopted neoliberal regime principles, which support primarily business and commercial interests. The regime appears to have paid less attention to the potential for connections between issues of community development and the sporting events strategy as has occurred in Manchester and Melbourne. Elites were focused primarily on the economic and symbolic reimaging of the city, rather than seeing events as a way to address local community interests. In addition, those interviewed for this study seemed largely unaware of any opposition or problems with the events strategy, despite the fact that grassroots coalition members indicated a disconnect between the staging of events and local communities. While some members indicated an awareness of the need to address the interests of local communities in the future, there has been no evidence in the documentation collected for this study that said strategy is taking effect.

Smith and Ingham (2003) have argued that elites are physically, psychologically, and culturally distanced from every day practices of community and thus are unlikely to feel connected to the practices of community building. Members of the regime in Edmonton seem to exemplify this disconnect in their lack of attentiveness to the connections that already exist between the events and the local community. They tended to invoke ambiguous notions of community in seeking to confirm the support that local citizens seem to have in the activities in Edmonton. Further, the regime appears relatively unaware of the ways in which sporting events also tend to act as kind of badge of social

exclusivity and cultural distinctiveness (Schimmel, 2006), which means typically meeting the interests of the elite while excluding the concerns of local citizens. Perhaps the regime in Edmonton needs to develop a more critical and sensitive awareness of how policies and events strategies are received at the grass-roots level (Hall & Hubbard, 1998).

In the other two cities, Manchester and Melbourne, the regimes perceived their sporting events agenda as uniquely tied to issues of community development. In both cases, regime members perceived community to be both a localized notion of groupings, networks, and capital, as well as an overall public good for the city as a whole. Both cities' regimes gave examples about how the city had used both symbolic and real attempts to foster community development as part of the sporting events agenda. For the most part, the regimes indicated they saw the community agenda as being very important to sport strategy. Interestingly, Manchester looked to Melbourne as an example of where they wanted to get to with their events strategy and the ties to local community.

In Manchester and Melbourne, the development of the regime agenda is set against a neoliberal philosophy of development, which structures ideas about and the objectives set for community development and definitions of public good (Lowes, 2004). Regarding the city of Manchester, this agenda is set against a backdrop of urban renewal, strategic repositioning, and market reorientation. This postindustrial city is attempting to reinvent itself on the national and global stage, as well as meet the needs of a central government philosophy of regeneration and social integration. This political ideology has brought a market-oriented approach to the agenda of community development, similar to many cities around the world attempting to use sport for development (Whitson & Horne, 2006). While perceived by interviewees as unique, giving away tickets to local community members,

acquiring volunteer support from local citizens, and the establishment of a legacy organisation are not necessarily distinctive strategies. Rather they reflect a neoliberal top-down philosophy of community development that attempts to appease the 'interests' of local community members rather than engage in the grassroots mobilization of community needs (Gilchrist, 2004).

While the hosting of events was perceived by Manchester's regime as being uniquely tied to concerns for community development and capacity building, this ideology may stem from a need by urban elites to counteract the perceived loss of the community and social capital stemming from degeneration (Black & van der Westhuizen, 2004). This is likely why many of the events and the discussion of community and development have centred on the area of East Manchester, where severe social and economic problems have existed in the recent past. Nonetheless, the mere fact that regime members in Manchester were attentive to issues of community and made concerted efforts to develop social capital signifies that the regime agenda is structured in a way that issues of community could be addressed. The mobilization of a community strategy around the sporting events agenda would not necessarily require a complete ideological shift, but rather establishing a commitment by all regime members and those on the periphery to put community development interests at the centre of the agenda.

Melbourne presents an interesting case where the regime members interviewed felt very strongly that the sporting events agenda played an important role in community development and capacity building. In referring to community or a sense of community, regime members indicated a feeling of closeness and camaraderie with a group of other people as well as referring to community as a citywide grouping. There seemed to be a

deeper understanding that community involves time and social commitment, and the investment of social capital (Ingham & MacDonald, 2003). In this way, members did believe that the symbolic and genuine attempts to foster community through the use of events were distinctive and continually developing. Even secondary regime members involved in community development perceived the regime to be making a concerted effort to foster social capital and community through their strategies.

The current Labor government saw the previous policy agenda in Melbourne as detrimental to community development, and thus the new agenda has refocused efforts to ensure local communities benefit from the sports strategy. Given this refocusing on issues of community and the centrality of grassroots legacy programming, it is not surprising that regime members perceived the city's agenda as positively influencing communities. Despite this generally positive attitude about the ways in which the Melbourne regime has been tying together the sporting events agenda with community development, Collins (2004) has argued that persistent social inequities are structurally resistant to reticent efforts of regimes. True social change and community development requires major efforts, resources, know-how, and matching persistence; most of which are lacking in the neoliberal policy agenda of supporting events for marketing and reimaging the city.

Regime Character

Perhaps one way of understanding regime perceptions of the sporting events agenda as it relates to issues of community development is to return to the nature of the regimes in each of the cities. It has been argued that the regimes in each of these cities represent symbolic regimes (Stoker & Mossberger, 1994). Given that symbolic regimes are present to change the fundamental image of the city, the focus is similar to corporate branding

(Smith, 2005); thus it would not be surprising that the regime agenda did not include community centred values. This sort of prescriptive top-down politics or the rhetoric of 'community as a whole' is often appropriated for political and commercial ends within the city (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). Given that Edmonton represents a progressive symbolic regime, where the use of sporting events is about creating a positive image of the city and attracting tourists and more investment, it is perhaps to be expected that the regime does not perceive community development issues as strongly linked to this agenda. The invocation of community centred values by regime members offers a way to promote not only to visitors, but also to local citizens alike, that Edmonton is a vibrant, interconnected, and thriving city. Focus is clearly on economic and symbolic outcomes rather than attention to social capital and community development.

Manchester and Melbourne represent urban revitalization symbolic regimes. This type of regime attempts to transform a city's image in order to attract capital and investment, with the ultimate goal of facilitating economic development. Thus, in terms of the type of regime that exists in each city, it is perhaps somewhat unanticipated that regime members felt so strongly that the regime agenda was integral to issues of community development. The key to understanding this perception is perhaps the focus of urban revitalization. In Manchester, the events strategy has been linked to national government policies of urban regeneration and renewal. Thus, as discussed above, the perceived focus on community development issues by regime members is likely related to the ties to the specific urban regeneration program of East Manchester. The facilitation of this urban renewal program served as a catalyst, not only to secure events in the area, but also to secure national government funding for the events. This would help to explain why the

regime focussed their discussion on the related regeneration issues in the area, as examples of community development. Hence, the progressive community efforts are symbolically present, but little is known about the impact or the capacity to capture the essence of public engagement and social capital building (Blackshaw & Long, 2005). Perhaps the test will be to see if this focus persists and continues to grow as the sporting events strategy moves to areas where regeneration is not as prominent an issue.

In Melbourne's case, the urban revitalization agenda has shifted focus. With the Labor government in power at the state level, and due to successes in the past, the previous agenda of physical regeneration has diminished in importance. Thus, issues of social investment and community development have come to the forefront of the revitalization agenda (Cheshire & Lawrence, 2005). This is perhaps the reason that regime members perceived the sporting events agenda as so uniquely tied to community development. In this way the urban revitalization focus has encouraged the integration of local community needs/interests and ensuring that benefits of events accrue to local citizens. Not only did regime members believe that a community agenda was central to the sports strategy, but they were also able to provide ample examples such as improving public access to facilities, community engagement programs, and links to local neighbourhood development opportunities. The case of Melbourne would appear to uphold what Maloney, Smith, and Stoker (2000) have reasoned – that social capital and community capacity can be actively generated and promoted by regimes through the establishment of consultative forums, outreach work and funding schemes. Thus, although it was outside the scope of this study to explore the extent to which these strategies are actually tied to efforts of community, it is

nonetheless encouraging to see that regime members perceive there to be significant ties between the sports strategy and the community development agenda.

Conclusions and Future Research

The intent of this chapter was to examine the perceptions of members of regimes in Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne regarding the use of sporting events for broad based community outcomes, more specifically the symbolic attempts to foster benefits for groups outside the urban regime. Two cases, Manchester and Melbourne, demonstrate that the regimes are at least attentive to issues of community development and have made some symbolic attempts to address these concerns. In particular, Melbourne's regime has refocused its revitalization efforts on social outcomes with specific concerns for community development. Thus, while perhaps it is still some way off that communities reach outcomes such as more widespread social inclusion, community cohesion, and increased social and human capital, it is encouraging to see attempts – even if only symbolic – to meets the needs/interests of community.

Typically, sport related developments, such as facilities and events have been justified from an economic development perspective. While economic development and community development may strategically overlap, Stone (1993) has suggested that the privileging of economic development stems from the problems of coordinating community development. For economic development, consensus between a few key organisation representatives is required, whereas for community development, grass-roots mobilization is also required. This involves a substantial commitment and often a complete change in regime agenda (Stone, 2001). Furthermore, Smart and Smart (2003) argued that knowledge of how to nurture the social and cultural conditions for cohesion and prosperity in an era of

intensifying neoliberal policies and economic deregulation is still in its infancy. It is perhaps in this area that future research is most needed. Cities continue to host sporting events as part of development strategies, and while some such as Kidd (1992) and Hall (2001) have recommended that sport organisations such as the International Olympic Committee require cities to perform complete social impact assessments and full public consultations, more work needs to be done to understand the ways in which sport events can fulfill the needs of local communities. It will be through this type of research that changes can be made to develop and market sport events in ways that foster community and build social capital.

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Chapter 5: RETHINKING SPORTING EVENTS THROUGH THE LENS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The use of sporting events, as a means of marketing and promoting cities, has become a widely recognised strategy for cities and nations attempting to attract capital, retain inward investment, and market a positive image of the city. While much of the research on sporting events suggests that events privilege only elites within the city (Burbank, Andranovich, & Heying, 2001; Whitson & Horne, 2006), there is a growing interest in how sporting events can be used to serve the needs and interests of other groups within the community, in particular socially excluded or disadvantaged populations. Some scholars such as Kidd (1992) and Hiller (2000) have argued that cities interested in bidding for large scale sporting events should be required to undertake social and environmental impact assessments. "The decision to bid [for an event] should be made in the context of full public information and widespread consultation" (Kidd, 1992, p. 164).

However, beyond the few critical calls for changes to the ways in which cities develop and structure sporting events to be more attentive to social and community concerns (Kidd, 1992; Hiller, 2000; Whitson, 2004; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006), little research has addressed the ways in which to facilitate these changes. Given that large-scale sporting events require enormous investment in human, financial, and physical capital from communities that stage them (Whitson, 2004), events should be subject to greater public scrutiny. Policies facilitating a sporting events agenda have developed in the context of the spread of neoliberal economic ideology and globalisation. Thus, following Horne and Manzenreiter (2006), this chapter argues that the state remains the place to campaign over inequalities and social exclusion, the regulation of mega-events, consumer politics, human

rights or environmental risks in sport. Therefore, drawing upon a community development perspective, policies and programs need to ensure that appropriate social and community development measures are taken when a city considers hosting a major sporting event.

Community development is about building active and sustainable communities based on social justice and mutual respect. It is about changing power structures to remove the barriers that prevent people from participating in the issues that affect their lives. The essence of using a community development paradigm focuses on the principles of local empowerment, participatory governance, demand-responsiveness, administrative autonomy, greater downward accountability, and enhanced local capacity. McMillan and Chavis' (1986) theoretical characterization of community development offers a holistic approach to the development of a community's human, economic, social and environmental resources to stimulate opportunities for membership, influence, mutual development of social capital (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990).

With this in mind, the purpose of this chapter is to consider ways in which sporting events can and should make a greater contribution to civic and community development. Drawing upon data collected as part of a larger study on sporting events and community development, this chapter explores mechanisms developed in two cities – Manchester, UK, and Melbourne, AU – that ensure links between a sporting event agenda and community development. Extensive multiple case study data which has included document analyses, site visits, and interviews, have been used to examine specific ways in which cities/regimes can take advantage of events for the betterment of communities. In particular, it is argued that the policy context in which events are developed at the local, regional, national, and international scale need to address ways to ensure that benefits of events accrue to local

communities. The central concern here is to provide opportunities for greater contribution of the local to the advent of sporting events, and to offer potential avenues for future research to explore and offer critical analyses of these connections.

Why Community Development and Citizen Engagement?

Horne and Manzenreiter (2006) argued that large-scale sporting events "have been developed by undemocratic organisations, often with anarchic decision-making and a lack of transparency, and more often in the interests of global flows rather than local communities" (p. 18). As a result, the practices surrounding the use of sporting events for civic and economic development are increasingly divorced from the everyday practices of local communities, neighbourhoods, and local development activities. There are growing concerns about the vast resources that have been, and continue to be, pumped into major sporting projects, such as events, without serious questions being asked about the sustainability of facilities and other infrastructure, the consequences for communities, and the implications for local development (Eisinger, 2000; Jones, 2000; Misener & Mason, 2006; Rowe & McGuirk, 1999). Events often bring in private resources and substantial global capital, neglecting the utility, resources, and knowledge capital of the local communities (Whitson & Horne, 2006). To continue to marginalize citizens and local community needs in the interest of the potential economic impact and image promotion created through the hosting of events signifies a denial of rights, interests, and needs of those directly affected by events. The hosting of events impacts entire communities, and while the calculation of the benefits and social costs are not simple matters, the decisions surrounding events should be made in the context of full public information and widespread community consultation.

There has been a renewed interest in community development issues on many levels. Engaging communities is considered to be both a desirable end in itself linking the values of democracy and citizenship to participation. Correlations between engaged communities and economic growth have been advocated (Florida, 2002), provoking additional interest in the potential of community engagement. As an example of this interest, the World Bank has recently renewed its focus on issues of community, tackling social exclusion, and increasing social capital. These notions have also become a central European Union agenda, and many nations and regions have adopted policies focused on community rebuilding (Craig, Mayo, & Taylor, 2000). In addition, a restored awareness in discovering the value of community has emerged through the lens of communitarianism (Etzioni, 1998), social capital (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000), and civil society. Referring to community or an individual's sense of community often implies a feeling of closeness and camaraderie with a group of other people. Thus, citizen participation in community development activities has been viewed as a major method for improving the quality of the physical environment, enhancing services, preventing crime, and improving social conditions (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990).

Within this context, sporting events are marketed as a community event where the whole of a given city can unite in support of pursuing a common goal; however, as critics such as Smith and Ingham (2003) have argued, the notion of community development being a 'trickle-down' outcome of events is misleading. Sugden and Tomlinson (2000) have noted that sport often acts as a kind of badge of social exclusivity and cultural distinctiveness by reinforcing power distinctions that exist within cities and communities. Thus, if sport is to become a vehicle for greater social inclusion and healthier communities,

it needs to become embedded in regional planning and development agendas. The relationship between community engagement and civic development strategies needs to be firmly established if resources are to be used in an effective way to satisfy national, regional and local priorities (Coaffee & Shaw, 2005).

Sport is often regarded as playing a positive role for community development through the strengthening of the social resources in a community. Some argue that through the development of contacts, relationships, networks, and agreements, residents will make their locality a better place in which to live and work (Thomas, 1995, p. 2). Community-based development utilizes the social networks of a community for the improvement of economic and physical conditions, which represents an important means of harnessing the energy and expertise of residents in local development strategies. Each community has a unique, historically shaped system for public action and community development (Reese & Rosenfeld, 2001); in similar, unique ways sport has the potential to continue to play an important role in shaping communities and developing local social capital (Misener & Mason, 2006).

Method

Data were collected in the form of documentation, archival records, interviews, and direct observations (Yin, 2003). Extensive policy documentation, media reports, and other city documents were used to develop an initial understanding of the urban coalitions in Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne. Over one hundred and fifty documents, representing more than 7500 pages of data, were collected to develop the profiles of each of the cities, examine the urban regimes, and explore policy related discourses. This process allowed for the identification of regime members, which was crucial to the research

process. Interviews were then performed with key regime members from each of the three cities concerning their views on the links between the sporting events strategy and community development initiatives. Interviewees included City Mayors, Chief Executives, Marketing Officers, Community Development Officers, and private industry professionals. In addition, interviews were also completed with some secondary regime members, such as heads of community leagues and neighbourhood coalitions. Thirty-one semi-structured interviews were performed with 39 members of the urban regimes. Interviews took place in each of the cities between August 2003 and July 2006, varying in length from 45 minutes to 1.5 hours, and were developed based on the documentation and initial visits to each city. In addition, the theoretical framework guided the interview questions, focusing on the sporting event strategy, community participation and partnerships, social inclusion, and city specific community development concerns. All interviews were transcribed verbatim, resulting in 586 pages of interview records. Each individually transcribed interview was sent back to the interviewee in order to allow them to review their responses. Further, probes were included with the transcribed interviews, and follow up phone calls and/or emails were made to explore these probes, if necessary.

QSR Nvivo7, a software program expressly designed for managing large amounts of qualitative data, was used to compile pertinent public documentation, and interview data, including field notes and verbatim transcripts. Nvivo7 served as one tool to code and sort the data, helping to discern relationships among the constructs through an iterative process similar to grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). All documentation was read several times and manually coded by the researcher to determine the central themes emerging relating to the theoretical construct. In two of the cases, Manchester and Melbourne, it

became clear that there was at least some attention given to issues of community development and evidence of attempts to address these concerns. In particular, members of the regimes interviewed in Manchester and Melbourne perceived an important refocusing of the revitalization efforts on social outcomes with specific concerns for community development. Those interviewed in Edmonton seemed relatively unaware of the potential links between the events strategy and community development issues. While some regime members in Edmonton indicated that policies would be developed in the future relating the events agenda and community centred issues, however to date, no such policies have emerged in the city. Therefore, this chapter will focus on two of the cities – Manchester and Melbourne.

Documentation and interviews for the cases of Manchester and Melbourne were revisited, reread, and further coded to explore approaches to address the interests and needs of local communities as part of the sporting events agenda. Drawing upon the aforementioned data (i.e., interviews, public documents) and guided by literature on sport and community development, the following examines strategies in these cities undertaken to address community needs and local development. Examples from Manchester and Melbourne of symbolic attempts to address community needs are used as a backdrop to promoting a community-focussed agenda through sport in future event strategies.

Results

Addressing Community Development through Sporting Events

While there were numerous themes that emerged from the data specifically relating to issues of community and local development, several key areas featured prominently in the interviews and documents. Figure 1 summarises the relationship between the emergent

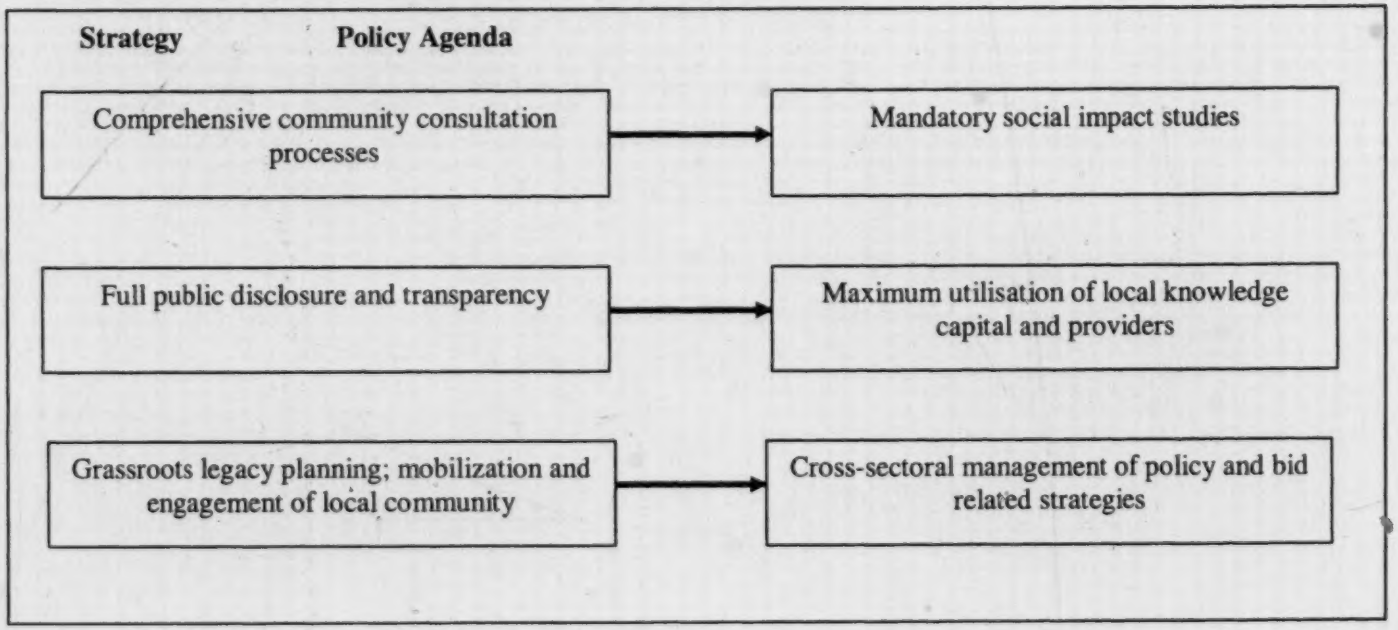
strategies and policy options that have been developed from the data. The following sections expand upon these areas drawing upon documentation, interview data, and the academic literature to emphasise the saliency of the strategies and policy options. More specifically this section emphasises the potential of the policy development strategies by using examples from Manchester and Melbourne to support to notion that events can positively impact communities if appropriate strategies are implemented.

Strategies

Strategy #1: Comprehensive community consultation processes regarding decisions to bid for, bid, plan, and stage event.

Harvey (1989) argued that fair planning must address the marginalization of community members and find ways to liberate people to participate within the community. Public opinion polls are often cited during the bid process for sporting events as evidence of tacit public support, yet for the most part citizens have been neither consulted nor involved in the event processes. It is only through the practice of engaging in comprehensive consultation strategies at all stages of the event development process that we can begin to empower members of communities. Empowerment processes such as community consultation start during the strategic visioning and planning phase. Efforts to build a strategic vision with marginalized communities that have experienced sustained periods of economic and social declines require careful planning.

Figure 1: Addressing Community Development through Sporting Events


Strategy
Policy Agenda
Comprehensive community consultation processes
Mandatory social impact studies
Full public disclosure and transparency
Maximum utilisation of local knowledge capital and providers
Grassroots legacy planning; mobilization and engagement of local community
Cross-sectoral management of policy and bid related strategies

Cashman (2003) argued that a tactic often used by host cities to mask the lack of community consultation is to incorporate key personnel from minority groups, such as indigenous communities, ethnic communities and welfare groups who may potentially provide opposition to events, to demonstrate wide community support. In Manchester members from groups such as *East Manchester Community Forum* and the *Federation of Stadium Communities* were held up as supportive community groups where some consultation work had been undertaken. However, an examination of related Commonwealth Games documentation revealed that these groups had little or no involvement in the actual planning or hosting process. In Melbourne, for most of the sporting events held in the city, local aboriginal leaders are often consulted during the event planning process (City of Melbourne, 2006), and held up as strong event supporters. However, demonstrations such as the protests against the 2006 Commonwealth Games staged by *Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation Victoria* (ANTar), which supports aboriginal rights, is demonstrative of the lack of tacit support from the aboriginal community (The Age, 2006). Thus, the cities studied here attempted to demonstrate the inferred support of local groups during the bidding process, but clearly confirmed that these groups were outside the regimes who wielded the decision making power. As a result, this process does not amount to real community consultation; it represents a kind of 'manufactured consent' (Booth & Tatz, 1994).

The case studies did demonstrate several ways that cities might attempt to engage local communities in full public consultation processes as part of the events agenda. In the case of Manchester, regime members argued that they have tried to ensure that local communities were a connected part of the planning process from the very beginning. The

Marketing Manager of *New East Manchester Ltd*[12] explained how the engagement of their local development organisation was a major step in attempting to engage the local community in the consultation process surrounding the 2002 Commonwealth Games.

> It was always an important part of the Games taking place in the East Manchester area that the local community would be involved every step of the way. So they were involved in consultation of major decisions, which ordinarily they perhaps wouldn't have been.

East Manchester Resident Forums facilitated by *New East Manchester* were held on a regular basis, and members of the Commonwealth Games 2002 organising committee often attended meetings to discuss the planning for the event (NEM, 2002). Ultimately, the rationale behind these public forums stemmed from the regeneration partnerships with programs such *Single Regeneration Budget, Beacons for a Brighter Future,* and partnerships between *Manchester City Council, English Partnerships,* and *North West Regional Development Agency.* The rhetoric around the development and staging of major events included public consultation; this agenda emanated from the revitalisation programs rather than the sporting event providing impetus for community consultation. Community forums represent an important means of addressing community consultation. Maloney, Smith, and Stoker (1999) contended that social capital can be actively generated and promoted through the establishment of consultative forums, outreach work and the funding regime. However, they need to be fully integrated into the event planning process in order

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[12] New East Manchester Ltd is an urban regeneration company established as a partnership initiative between Manchester City Council, English Partnerships, the North West Development Agency and the communities of East Manchester to co-ordinate and integrate social/community and economic initiatives and market and promote the area to new businesses and residents.

to take an active role that could serve as a model for other organisations in terms of community development and social capital building.

Strategy #2: Full public disclosure and transparency regarding event processes.

Directly related to the notion of community consultation is the importance of transparency throughout the process. A process that ensures access to the structures and knowledge regarding the events is integral to ensuring opportunities for social participation, for democratic involvement at the local level, and thus for active citizenship. While the community forums were one means of attempting to guarantee information regarding the event process in Manchester was transparent, representatives of local neighbourhood groups discussed the lack of transparency in the process that made citizens uneasy about the potential for positive community outcomes from the events. One concern of local groups was the development of the Manchester City Stadium within the Sportcity complex in East Manchester that was then 'given' over to Manchester City Football club (Chief Executive Office, New East Manchester). In fact, the lease agreement between the city and football club provided benefits to the local community in terms of community use, public access, and social development. However, because the process lacked the necessary transparency, many citizens were troubled by the arrangement (Manchester 2002 Ltd., 2002). The Director of *Sport England* North West emphasised the need for transparency in all aspects of community involvement,

> There is a community use policy...But one of the things for me would be about making it transparent, so that the community understands how they gain access, and if there are so many hundred hours' free use, or subsidized use, does the whole community know about it? Is the blocking policy as accessible as it should be?

While some of those interviewed in Melbourne drew attention to the numerous reporting techniques such as the *Special Reports* produced by the Department for Victorian Communities around the 2006 Commonwealth Games, as a method to ensure transparency, others felt the need to develop alternative, more open procedures. Reports and documentation produced by government departments is one method of ensuring more transparency, but local development officers such as the Executive Officer of *Melbourne Development Board* (MDB) would like to see more efforts toward local community involvement in reporting. In order to ensure that those affected by the events processes, and those charged with overseeing periphery activities of events, it is essential that local development groups be involved in the planning activities. Connecting with local development organisations, neighbourhood coalitions, and community through meetings, forums, and workshops was viewed as an important aid in reporting and transparency.

Leading up to the 2006 Commonwealth Games in Melbourne, much rhetoric about the reporting and consultation processes was apparent in media reports put forth by the Department of Victorian Communities. However, these reports and consultation processes appear to have been selective in nature, focussing on some issues while others were left out of the process. For example, members of the community were given the opportunity to comment on the development of the Commonwealth Games Village in Parkville (DVC, 2005). Yet, the selection of the site – the old historic psychiatric hospital at Parkville – was very controversial and met with much opposition from groups such *Royal Park Protection Group.* Nonetheless, the issue did not receive any public consultation prior to its selection as the location of the Games Village (Royal Park Protection Group Inc., 2005). In addition, this project also lacked transparency in terms of the privatization of the developments that

were to take place. After much negotiation, the government settled with the private developer to set aside only 20 percent of the units for social housing costs. What did not surface until after the Games were finished is that a large portion of the houses slated for social housing had yet to be built (Bell, 2006). The need to ensure that local communities are informed and understand the processes, and impacts of hosting a large-scale event such as the Commonwealth Games is desirable.

Strategy #3: Grassroots legacy planning; mobilization and engagement of local community and interest groups in the legacy planning process.

"Community development through leisure initiatives has a responsibility to operate in the worlds in which people actually live, rather than trying to transplant them to a mythical world that only exists in the minds eye of civic communitarians" (Blackshaw and Long, 2005, p.239). While each of the strategies mentioned here seeks to address the interests of communities by engagement of community, the mobilization of grassroots planning, particularly around legacy and outcomes of events, is vitally important to ensuring community-centred values. The results of this study have echoed what the literature has suggested in that local development must be a process embedded in the culture and values of local community based groups. Much of the work that has been done in the communities of Manchester and Melbourne has utilised a top-down approach where local government organisations have developed policies and legacy plans that do not necessarily reflect the needs and interests of communities. It is only through partnering and active inclusions of grassroots programming that events can truly tie to the needs and interests of communities.

Some examples have emerged from the research that demonstrate the active engagement of local communities and organisation. Melbourne Development Board (MDB) acted as a link to local communities during the 2006 Commonwealth Games. MDB is part of the Australian Government's national network of Area Consultative Committees which assists in identifying opportunities for local communities to participate in, and enjoy lasting benefits from events such as the Queen's Baton Relay, an event held in the lead up to the Games (Australian Government Department of Transport and Regional Services, 2007). Centrelink, which is a government agency that delivers a range of services such as income assistance (Centrelink, 2007), worked closely with MDB on activities surrounding the Games events to ensure maximum benefit for local communities. A key issue for the partnering of the organizations around sport is to maximize the use of local volunteers as a way of developing transferable skills and expertise. This was done through the Pre-Volunteer programme in Melbourne. Despite that these connections were made to capitalize on the potential for local community development, the Executive Director of MDB explained the intense difficulty in coordinating these efforts and the struggle to ensure that these connections were made effectively. In essence, there needs to be mechanisms in place to ensure that local communities benefit from these efforts. As the Executive Director of MDB explained:

> [Event organisers] objectives don't necessarily include a broader community objective, so you need an organisation like us to be pricking the government and saying 'well hang on, you've got those objectives [marketing and economic development], but how can we maximize the advantages of the race, or the whatever the event happens to be, through these opportunities as well?

Volunteering is an important aspect of major events that has the potential to contribute to social regeneration and the strengthening of social capital (Misener & Mason, 2006), as well as a catalyst for community and multi-cultural involvement. A study of the 2002 Manchester Commonwealth Games (ICRCTHI, 2003) found that 23,000 people applied to be volunteers, with 9,000 being selected. In terms of widening participation in sport, Coalter (2004) determined that in Manchester's case such events only attracted those already committed to sport and volunteering. In the 2002 Commonwealth Games Benefits Study (NWDA), one of the suggested actions was to "develop and implement a strategic approach to the recruitment of any volunteers, especially with a view to their utilization at future events" (2002, p.55). While efforts had been made in both Manchester and Melbourne to develop transferable skills for volunteers, Cashman (2003) argued that there is a need for more coordinated pre and post-games planning in order for such events to be part of a much longer and systematic process of both sporting and community development. In this way, community organizations, local development groups and volunteers can create more strategic approaches to partnering and long-term local development.

Directly connected to the notion of grassroots participation is the increased involvement of various sectors of community that are typically excluded. "Unless you make an intervention, the same kind of people who could benefit from sport, the ones who are disengaged, socially excluded, don't benefit" (Director of Sport England North West). Linking the activities and interests of communities to major events could actually move the participation base, help build capacity in the area, and give communities a chance to

actually be involved and benefit. Many of the interviewees discussed a key theme that appears prominently in the current policy rhetoric regarding the need for communities to be "engaging people of low incomes, ethnic minority groups, and other typically socially excluded groups" (Department for Victorian Communities, 2006). The British Urban Regeneration Association (BURA) echoed this policy discourse by stating that the key to engaging these groups and ensuring that they benefit from sporting activities is to involve them in the decision making processes from the outset of activities. This will ultimately guide how legacy programs stemming from events affect communities.

Policy Issues

There has been an emergence of policy rhetoric in many neoliberal market discourses that refocuses on popular notions of community and social capital, particularly in the UK (Cheshire & Lawrence, 2005). Despite the merits of this new approach for independent decision-making and community well-being, Cheshire and Lawrence (2005) have reasoned that the inclusion of community in governmental discourses represents an attempt by governments to offer solutions to social and economic downturns "that often provides little challenge to the hegemony of institutions, practices, and discourses of contemporary capitalism" (p. 443). In policy terms, the goal should be to improve the distribution of resources, increase the availability of infrastructure, and thereby reduce differences in potential for participation. Mirroring the neoliberal discourses, most sports policies have exhibited a shift from a concern for social and community development through sport to one of primarily economic development and urban entrepreneurialism (Dulac & Henry, 2001; Harvey, 1989). The manner in which large scale sporting events are conducted and organized raises serious public policy concerns particularly with respect to

the role of access, accountability, and responsiveness in the policy making process (Andranovich, Burbank, & Heying, 2001). Thus, in order to counteract these negative shifts, public policy relating to sport and events should challenge the hegemonic discourses of contemporary neoliberalism by ensuring a grassroots approach to community engagement and citizen participation.

The potential impact of sport as a catalyst for community regeneration and cohesion is beginning to regain credence as a means of helping tackle issues of social and cultural exclusion, poor health, and anti-social behaviour (Coaffee & Shaw, 2005). As demonstrated in the cities examined in this study, a renewed interest in issues of community and social development has emerged in Manchester and Melbourne, with many regime members interviewed focusing on issues of local development and providing examples of ways to address community concerns. In these cases specific policy agendas have been in place relating to community regeneration and revitalization. However, in each case the issues and concerns of communities are still substantially overshadowed and underrepresented by the central agenda of economic growth. Thus, while it is somewhat promising to know that regime members appear to be at least attentive to the issues of communities, the only real way to ensure that events positively influence the social fabric and community interests is to put in place regulations regarding community consultation, local development, and partnership planning. Table 1 addresses specific measures that need to be a part of the federal policy agenda regarding hosting sporting events. It outlines explicit measures that address the policy agendas as discussed below. The policy agendas draw further upon the case study research to propose options for sport policy development

surrounding the hosting of events, and suggest concrete ways to implement policy mechanisms to ensure positive benefits accrue to communities.

Policy Agenda #1: Comprehensive social impact studies should be mandatory before bidding for an event.

As Kidd (1992) and others have argued, there is a need for international sport organisations to require mandatory social impact assessments for all cities bidding for event. While some organisations such as the International Olympic Committee have taken some measures to address this concern by requiring candidate cities to fill out a questionnaire about the city, which includes a section on social issues in the city, it is still not a requirement for most organisations. The Chief Executive Officer of Manchester argued that the central problem with international sporting bodies, is that they are more interested in the success of the event than the city. He argued that these organisations central questions should be about "not what a country can do for the Olympics, is what an Olympics can do for countries' further development". Thus, policies at the international level need to ensure that social assessments are performed by cities before bidding.

There is also a need for more than just the international sporting body and bid committee to be satisfied with the social assessments of bids. In Melbourne, with the Labor government coming into power at the state level, policies have been implemented that help to ensure communities are better served by the events. In this case, it is the state government that has tried to make events more accessible and tie them to issues of community and community development. As the General Manager of Major Events, Department for Victorian Communities discussed,

Table 1: Local conditions and sporting events/investments

	Edmonton	Manchester	Melbourne
Economic	Manufacturing and Service	Manufacturing and Service	Service
Structure of Government	Parliamentary democracy: Three tiered – federal, provincial, municipal	Parliamentary democracy: Two tiered – federal, and local authorities	Parliamentary democracy: Three tiered – federal, state, municipal
Examples of Key Organizations	Economic Development Edmonton Edmonton Events International Edmonton City Council Tourism Edmonton Northlands Telus Corporation Acrodex IT solutions MacLab Enterprises University of Alberta Grant MacEwan College	Manchester City Council Manchester Leisure Marketing Manchester MIDAS New East Manchester North West Development Agency New Deal for Communities Manchester Chamber of Commerce Wrengate Ltd Manchester Ship Canal Company	Victoria Major Events Company Tourism Victoria Department for Victorian Communities Melbourne Development Board Victorian Institute of Sport Foster's Group Limited ANZ Banking Group University of Melbourne Victoria University of Technology
Examples of Key Regime Personnel	Former Mayor Bill Smith City Manager Al Maurer Ken Fiske (Vice President, Tourism, Events and Motion Pictures) Rick Lelacheur (President EEDC) Ed Zemrau (Former University of Alberta Athletic Director)	Former Chief Executive Bob Scott Chief Executive Howard Bernstein Leader of the Council Richard Leese Jim Byrne (Manchester Leisure) Sean McGonigle (NDC)	Former Lord Mayor Ronald Walker John Wylie Chair of Melbourne Cricket Ground Trust Minister Justin Madden Minister John Pandazopoulos Mayor John So
Examples of Major Sports Events	2007 Men's World Curling Championships 2006 Women's Rugby World Cup 2005 World Masters Games 2004 World Cup of Women's Baseball 2001 IAAF Championships	2006 Paralympic World Cup 2004 World Track Cycling Championships 2003 UEFA Champions League Final 2002 Commonwealth Games 1997 World Table Tennis Championship	2007 FINA World Championships Formula 1 Grand Prix (yearly) 2006 Commonwealth Games Australian Open Tennis Championships (yearly) 2005 World Artistic Gymnastic Championships

> Previously if an international body was happy with an event, and media were happy, and you know the globalisation of sport and so on was met, then we would give ourselves a massive tick and move on. Whereas now, one of the things that government has done is made [Victoria Major Events company] accountable to us as a government department, but also the event providers. So what does the local community get out of it?

This demonstrates that pressures are already coming at the state level in Victoria to ensure that communities positively benefit from events. Thus, other countries, states and provinces could also take heed of this proactive role to require social assessments and provide guidelines for communities seeking to host events.

In order for sport policies in the countries studied here to have an effect on the hosting of events, they must be coordinated at that national level. Each country has a sport policy and each of them includes a section on the hosting of international sporting events. However, none of these policies have included the requirement of full social impact assessments for cities seeking to host large scale sporting events, and seeking federal government funding. Examples do exist in these countries outside the scope of this study, such as Vancouver in its bid for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games, and London in their legacy plan for the 2012 Summer Olympic Games. These cities have undertaken social impact studies but they were not a policy requirement in order to secure federal or provincial funding. In order to truly impact the nature of events and ensure that appropriate impact assessments are completed, this needs to be integral to federal sport policies. Unless social impact assessments become a mandatory requirement and are tied to the funding outcomes for bid cities for all events requiring funding, it is unlikely that all cities will follow suit with the assessments performed in Vancouver and London.

In terms of assessing the social impact of events, certain areas need to be addressed and understood in order to adequately address the needs of communities. Drawing upon the various sources from this study, social impact assessments need to include the following components for the areas in which the event will be located and all areas that the event is likely to affect:

1. *Physical Environment*: level of affordable housing (% of ownership), percentage of dwellings within walking distance to public transport, potential physical disturbances; particular focus on archaeological and historical sites, important landmarks, public land, parkland, and land use patterns.
2. *Social and Community indicators*: social organisations, neighbourhood coalitions, public services and utilities, volunteer rates, educational attainment rates, social control and deviation, health indicators, polity, and demography.
3. *Economic indicators*: employment and unemployment rates, individual and household income, social assistance programs, and economic resources.

In addition to addressing these indicators, which assess the current levels of vulnerability, impact studies need to address the service capacity of the community, and the potential service capacity in relation to the expected population increase following an event.

The case study of Melbourne demonstrated that steps to address issues such as social housing, and equitable community representation are being undertaken in the light of impact assessments, but more needs to be done to meet the needs and interests of local communities. Each city needs to determine specifically what social housing needs are appropriate. The federal policy mechanism should require that all cities building infrastructure such as housing for an athletes' village, 50% of these developments will become social housing following the event. In addition, following the lead of the Commonwealth Games Federation – that implemented a policy to ensure

that the executive committee of the federation comprised 20% women by 2007 – cities must demonstrate at the very least a small step towards more equitable social representation. Cities seeking to host an event should be required to ensure that bid committee and organising committee representation mimics the composition of the local community. These agendas represent a small step towards more socially responsible event planning that meets the needs and interests of local communities.

Policy Agenda #2: Specific delivery mechanisms and supply chains must ensure maximum utilisation of local providers.

In light of concerns about the ability of neoliberalism to attain widespread economic and social well-being, Cheshire and Lawrence (2005) have argued that Australian governments have begun moving towards a 'softer' policy framework that maximizes the virtues of community in the delivery of services and local development. "No longer are individuals perceived to be the isolated, atomistic beings of classical political economy, but members of communities, and embedded in networks of social capital" (p. 436). An investment strategy that facilitates access of local organizations to development capital would seem to have the potential of not only stimulating a physical revitalization of distressed areas, but also supporting the growth of social capital within communities (Daniels, Barbe, & Seigle, 1981). Thus, it is vital to ensure the uptake of local providers and the development of local knowledge capital.

As discussed by several regime members in the study, a central concern regarding community centre values and local development surrounding the events was a disconnect between personnel from outside the city contracted to come in to run events and local community values.

> Our struggle in the Games was to convince the Australians, some Canadians, the only reason they are here isn't to run an event. The only reason they are here is to develop the

> infrastructure. It was a battle from day one because if they could, when they made decisions they will be better decisions for Manchester rather than just to run an event and there was that friction (Head, Manchester Leisure).

When external providers are used to run local events, the potential exists for event activities to be hijacked in the interests of global capital and economic rewards that can disregard the interests of local community. By helping to ensure that local organisations are part of the process is not only a way to help reduce the potential for disregarding community interests, but almost makes good business sense. The use of local providers is good practice for the development of local community infrastructure as well as helping to ensure community values remain a high priority. Through this type of socially responsible investment strategy, community investment and local social development can be achieved.

In terms of ensuring that local companies benefit from the development and staging of events, the Government of Victoria has a policy that demonstrates its commitment to local development. The *Victorian Industry Participation Policy* (VIPP) is applied for all tenders over $3 million in metropolitan Melbourne and $1 million in regional Victoria. All short listed bidders for a major project must complete a VIPP statement that includes three main reporting requirements: the level of local content; the number of new jobs created; and possible skills and technology transfer (Victorian Government Purchasing Board, 2007). In addition, Bidders for projects over $50 million in metropolitan areas and over $5 million in regional areas are required to consult with the Industrial Capability Network (ICN) for certification and to identify local supply opportunities. In the lead-up to the 2006 Commonwealth Games, Melbourne Cricket Grounds (MCG) underwent a $434 million redevelopment. This was undertaken by the Industry Capability Network (ICN), which is an independent, not-for-profit consultant service funded by the State government,

providing free sourcing and business matching to manufacturing and engineering service sectors. The goal is to ensure the maximum usage of local companies and facilitate knowledge transfer. The central company responsible for the MCG developments, Grocon, worked with ICN to ensure involvement of local Victorian Companies and the maximization of local employment opportunities. This represents an example of a proactive policy that can ensure local communities and organizations benefit from developments. These types of policies can be scaled down to require all developments associated with the staging of a major event to undergo similar evaluations focused on local development.

Directly related to the uptake of local providers is the need to ensure skilled people in the communities to carry out activities. Given that an event is going to be situated within communities, the Director of Sport England North West argued that we need to consider "what are people entitled to at a local level given that they pay the taxes, and at the moment there doesn't seem to be a direct correlation between events status, economic prosperity, and all the great things that brings". He argued that in addition to ensuring local providers are central to the process, local community members should have to opportunity to access the skills necessary to be involved and contribute to the event process, if they choose. While to a certain extent this has been happening with programs such as the Pre-volunteer programs for both the Manchester 2002 and Melbourne 2006 Commonwealth Games, this effort needs to go beyond volunteer activities. In order to truly invest in local development, education, skills training, and opportunities for all levels should be integrated into the development of event activities. Lamore, Link, and Blackmond (2006) noted such community investment can improve the quality of life of residents in the surrounding community which can lead to increased productivity, social capital, and community well being. In

order to obtain these ends, policy at all levels needs to address the importance of local providers and local knowledge infrastructure in the event process.

Policy Agenda #3: Cross-sectoral management of policy and bid related strategies to ensure cohesive community agenda.

Incongruencies in agenda continue to be exhibited in the policy discourses between various sectors involved in event management. Weed's (2001; 2003) work on the sport and tourism sectors in the UK demonstrated the lack of congruency between the various departments involved in the sport, tourism, and event processes. In order to ensure cohesive community centred strategies, there is a need for strategic planning that includes various sectors involved in, and affected by, events in the mobilization of community interests. General policy focus in Melbourne around community and the movement of Sport and Recreation and the Events Unit to the Department for Victorian Communities has meant a renewed interest in community and development activities. Local authorities are working alongside other public, private, and voluntary sector organisations not only in providing services for a locality but also in making the strategic decisions and affecting the local conditions and development. However, it does not necessarily ensure that the various public and private sectors involved in the event process will remain integral. Sports policy that ensures representation from the various sectors, particularly local grassroots organisations, remains of key importance to ensuring a comprehensive community centred strategies.

As demonstrated by the first parts of this study on the regimes guiding the events processes in each of the cities, outcomes of events are dependent on an extremely complex web of relationships. Navigating this complexity can result in significant challenges but it is essential to ensure that the various groups and sectors are involved. The performance of social impact assessments will also help to determine the various groups that may be affected by the hosting of

events. This is particularly important for community development organisations that are often left out of the process. The Executive Director of Melbourne Development Board explained,

> You've got these big organisations and whether they are federal or state government, they've got their agendas, or the path that they are travelling down; now a bit of a juggernaut kind of set up, they feel like they are the main game, and quite frankly they probably are, but within that there is always a role and a need for all grassroots activity, and that is really where we are coming from.

The involvement of all sectors becomes vitally important in the discussion of local community development concerns where often groups such as the Melbourne Development Board are left out of the equation. As the focus for events shifts increasingly to the economic and tourism returns, local community organisations are left out of the planning process. In order to ensure just planning that is both informed by and inform communities, all the various sectors must be represented.

The groups most often left out of the development of events are in all likelihood those largely affected by the development activities. In Manchester and Melbourne, there was a distinct lack of voices from community coalitions and local grassroots organisations despite the rhetoric of integrated community driven management. Lowes (2004) has reported on one particular group that continues to lobby against the Australian Grand Prix being held in a prominent Melbourne park. The lack of engagement with these groups, and the dismissal of their concerns will continue to cause concern over the true ability to address community interests through sport. A more informed process that ensures the inclusion of the local community, public agencies, and private interests, events will result in better ties to local development activities and community needs. Policies that make it mandatory to have multisector involvement, including local community development

groups is vital to improving positive role of events in communities and community development activities.

Discussion and Future Research Agenda

Community development is a very dynamic and diverse process that has often been subject to local and national policies of government. The intention here has not been to suggest new modes of community development or offer radically different approaches to community building. Rather, the intent has to been to examine the potential for sporting events to have a more positive impact upon communities. Strong communities are built by community members being engaged, participating, and feeling supported by strong networks (Lin 2001; Gilchrist 2004). For the most part, this appears to be missing in the sporting events agenda, and more specifically from the policy discourse surrounding the events process in the cities in the study. Much of the criticism surrounding the negative impact events have on communities stems from the lack of community engagement and power differential between elite groups organizing large events, and local communities. Thus, the aim of engaging communities is to improve the allocation of resources, increase local development and reduce disparities in potential for community participation.

The needs for community regeneration and development can often be at odds with traditional approaches to local development. However, constructive regeneration and community development programmes can deliver positive social and commercial outcomes. They must be well managed and form part of a strategic agenda working with regime partners as well as local communities to develop united approaches to local issues and needs. The cultivation of community involvement and a knowledge-base may indicate a wealth of social and cultural capital in communities that can serve both economic and social ends. The engagement of local communities with regime practices could result in new and important ways of developing events that offer

greater positive community outcomes. The examples cited in this chapter demonstrate that it is possible to make connections between economic and social outcomes. For example, New East Manchester has already made a massive physical and social commitment to the community through engagement strategies and community forums that demonstrate the potential to engage local communities with elites.

Hess and Adams (2001) argued that community has become important to contemporary government because it brings new sources of knowledge, which are particularly relevant to contexts of local development strategies. The type of knowledge which comes from community engagement may be more important than the knowledge frames upon which public policy has traditionally relied. However, this type of community engagement is based on very different assumptions and strategies, which could make it problematic within the organisational structures of regimes and other public agencies. This means that governments and regimes will need to change the way they currently work to include new institutional arrangements, instruments, toolkits, and cultures in public administration to support and build the networks and local institutions that are critical to community development outcomes (Hess & Adams, 2002). While this type of knowledge and resource development could be difficult, it is vital to helping to ensure that events do not continue to be dominated by elites, and that local communities positively benefit from sporting events.

In relation to the continuing evolution of community involvement in government resource allocation decisions, it is argued that such arrangements are best used when communities are involved in decision-making and those governance arrangements, such as regimes, need to be further developed to encourage and allow for this to activity to occur. It is collective organisation and governance structures that sit behind the effective claim over, and use and distribution of,

assets and skills. Communities that have strong governance arrangements are better able to use and distribute their existing assets and make claims for resources that are appropriate for their needs. Through encouraging and requiring regimes to work with communities, new governance structures can emerge that will help communities gain beneficial knowledge and resources. The involvement of community and grassroots organisations can enhance the opportunities of individuals within communities to gain skills and links to enhance community well-being. By including neighbourhood organisations, representation from minority groups, and ensuring maximization of local provision, events can and should offer a unique opportunity for traditional governance structures to be challenged and allow new organisational partnership arrangements to emerge that more clearly empower and positively influence community development.

As Bauman (2000) has argued, local community knowledge is not something that can simply be tapped into through arms length consultation. Rather, engagement activities are essential to the creation and nurturing of this knowledge, which helps communities focus attention on local needs and capacities. Typically, where event organisers tend to seek outside resources and knowledge structures to organise events, local communities need to be part of the process as providers and purveyors of local knowledge capital. Through the engagement of local communities in the event activities and developments, knowledge can be nurtured that will help communities focus on needs and develop capacities that will not only serve event organisers, but will also help communities develop. In the past, government policy has placed little emphasis on collective organisation and governance structures. Yet, it is this collective organisation and governance structures that help foster the use and distribution of assets and skills. Communities that have strong governance arrangements are better able to use and distribute their existing assets and make claims for resources that are appropriate for their needs. Thus, the active engagement of

community members through employment and volunteer programs, development mechanisms, and partnership programs will help to engage community members in local development.

The lack of policy regulations regarding the engagement of communities in the development of sporting events processes has resulted in local activist groups emerging to voice the needs and opinions of community. Groups such as *The Impact of the Olympics on Community Coalition (IOCC)*, which is "an independent organization dedicated to ensuring that environmental, social, transportation, housing, economic and civil rights issues associated with the Vancouver/Whistler 2010 Olympic Games are addressed from a community perspective" have emerged in response to the lack of policy consideration in this area. Governance mechanisms, such as those suggested in this chapter, at the regional, national, and international level that serve the interests of communities in the events process demonstrate the willingness of event organisers to serve community interests. Further, the development of policy that helps to ensure the rights of communities are respected will mean that organisations such as the IOCC will have more power to serve and act in the interests of communities, rather than serve as merely a 'watchdog' over organising committees. This type of arrangement would shift the balance of power away from elite groups to a more balanced arrangement where communities' members and local development groups are empowered to affect decision making.

Questions continue to be raised about how regimes can justify spending billions of dollars on mega-events that are supposed to also help in the fight against social exclusion, while so many people still live in such dire poverty that they will never gain access or knowledge of the programs that these events are purported to create. If the issues of community development, social inclusion, and social capital building are to be addressed beyond marketing rhetoric, it will require a different ideological, political, and strategic policy formulation than currently exists. We can no longer

remain focused on physical solutions to address the broad socio-political needs of a diverse society. It is incumbent upon those who will forge policy, to become sensitive to the needs of individuals to craft a true vision of social inclusion and community engagement. In order to advance the understanding of community development related to governance and the events process, future research needs to address these concerns from both a strategic level and a policy level. It will be important to engage communities in discussions, debates, and active research strategies to understand the nature of concerns. Community members will not only need to be part of the development process, but are a vital part of research towards understanding the interplay between communities and development. Thus, future research that does address community development through events, needs to include community members in these activities.

Recognising that much of the sporting events agenda has developed in the context of neoliberal economic ideology and the advance of globalisation, implementing changes and ensuring grassroots participation in community building will be no simple task. While the state continues to present a productive place to struggle over inequity and marginalisation, and the regulation of mega-events, much research needs to be undertaken to understand the practical applications of these policy developments. Here, it has been argued that there are three primary areas to be addressed in policy to help ensure that community benefits from events: mandatory social impact studies, local economic development, and grassroots mobilization and involvement. In addition, drawing upon the data collected, specific policy mechanisms have been suggested that should be part of national policies on hosting sporting events. These mechanisms include addressing social housing needs, equitable social representation, maximization of local providers, maximization of local employment and volunteer opportunities, and multisector partnering between traditional regime groups and local community groups. Future research needs to be done

to fully understand how these can be directly incorporated into policies at the local, national, and international level. In addition, more concrete guidelines such as these need to accompany all policy developments to ensure that they are not abused or used merely as lip service as is so often done, particularly with social impact studies.

Finally, it is incumbent upon researchers to continue to explore the sources of power that exist within the development of sporting events and the related agenda in cities. While power continues to remain in the hands of an elite few, it is unlikely that changes will be made to positively affect communities. Typically, analyses of regimes, urban governance, and the sporting agenda have downplayed the issues of who wields power in favour of understanding the development and evolution of regimes; however, Henry (2001) has argued that it is a mistake to claim that power cannot be identified, deconstructed, critiqued, and altered. Understanding the power relationships within cities and the sporting developments is key to dismantling these differential sources of power and restoring a balance that favours local community interests. The integration of the policy mechanisms suggested here into the national policy agenda is one way of beginning to address this issue.

Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to examine ways in which sporting events can and should make a greater contribution to civic and community development. Drawing upon data collected as part of a larger study on sporting events and community development, this chapter explored three strategic areas that should be addressed through policy development, and three policy agendas that could be implemented to ensure more positive links between a sporting event agenda and community development. These strategies and policy agenda can provide guidelines for cities seeking to host events, however it must be noted that cities exhibit unique characteristics that will

result in some variation in how these can and will be implemented. Strategies included comprehensive community consultation processes, full public disclosure and transparency, and grassroots legacy planning were developed based on the review of literature and the data collected from the study. These guided the development of policy strategies, which incorporated mandatory social impact studies, maximum utilisation of local knowledge capital and providers, and cross-sectoral management of policy and bid related strategies. These policy agendas were further supported by the data collected in this study. Examples from this research have demonstrated that steps can and have been taken to attempt to address the needs of local communities through the sporting events agenda.

The research demonstrates that in some cases, such as in Melbourne with the Department for Victorian Communities, policies regarding community development and engagement strategies do exist, but often gets sidestepped due the complicated nature in which events develop. The very fact that regimes are centrally responsible for the event strategy in each of the cities demonstrates the complex network of players involved in the process. From this perspective, as Stone (2001) has argued, it is easy to understand why economic development gets favoured over community development. Economic development is a much easier process to coordinate, whereas community development requires greater amounts of coordination, grassroots mobilization, and extensive long-term strategies. The very nature of regimes in each of these cities precludes them from taking a central interest in community as a critical part of the development agenda. This is the reason that policies such as those addressed in this chapter must be in place to guide this process and make the actions of community engagement, grassroots organisation involvement, and consultation strategies mandatory processes of development.

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Chapter 6: **CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH AGENDA**

The purpose of this dissertation was to explore the extent to which three cities employing a sporting events strategy (Edmonton, CAN; Manchester, UK; Melbourne, AUS) have tied events to community development activities and how this is perceived by the growth coalitions within these cities. This project addressed two basic questions: how does the political discourse surrounding a sporting event strategy support community development and how do the associated urban coalitions perceive the use of sport as part of more general community development and community networking practices? As a result, this research sought to advance our understanding of the connections between elite coalitions who guide the process of securing sporting events for civic and economic development and the overall agenda for community development in each of the cities. The data were collected as part of a four stage plan that sought to examine the historical context in which sport has emerged as a prominent development agenda; the type and character of coalitions in each city; urban growth coalition perceptions of the hosting of sporting events as part of a community development agenda including instances where coalitions have sought to meet the interests of the local community in addition to their own; and types of practices/strategies that could be employed to create more socially responsible events that foster a cities' community development objectives.

The results of the research process have been presented here as individual research papers in chapters three to five. While the cities have unique political and economic histories, each city has begun using a growth and development strategy centred upon marketing the image of the city through leisure and entertainment driven activities. In each case, the city has sought to become more entrepreneurial in order to attract and retain capital and investment. Within this, cultural promotion activities such as sporting events have become a central feature of entrepreneurial

growth strategies designed to clearly situate these cities within the complex of the global economy. While each city has supported differing rationales for sporting strategies tied to growth, each is uniquely intertwined with local, regional, national, and global systems of governance.

Edmonton is a relatively young city that has not undergone significant sustained economic declines, and continues to profit from high demand in the oil and gas sector. While the province of Alberta is dominated by right wing Conservative politics, Edmonton has often had strong Liberal Members of Parliament and an engaged municipal council. The use of sporting events for development centres primarily on marketing and branding the city externally. Manchester has a rich urban history, often being held up as the first city of the Industrial Revolution. It has undergone severe postwar economic and social declines, which led to financial strife, and poor health and social conditions in many areas of the city. The advent of a sporting events strategy has been about not only marketing the city, but also about regeneration and revitalisation of many of the most economically deprived areas. Melbourne's history demonstrates elements from both Edmonton and Manchester. It is a young city that prospered early in its history, and underwent economic and social declines following the onset of a recession in the 1980s. The state and municipal governments have had a mixed political history. While the state Liberal government began the agenda of using sport for civic development, the current state Labor government and recently empowered local government have continued to use events as a means of economic prosperity and marketing the image of a vibrant city.

The second stage of the research process, presented in Chapter three sought to identify the urban coalitions in Edmonton, Manchester, and Melbourne guiding the sporting events agenda. The study used an analysis similar to DiGaetano and Klemanski's (1999) study of modes of governance to examine the urban political economy, urban governing agendas, and the urban

governing alliances in each of the cities. The results suggest that the political and economic history of each of the cities is uniquely tied to the development and character of the growth coalitions. Each of these coalitions was found to represent a symbolic regime where economic growth is mediated by a sense of 'value' based upon marketing the chosen image of the city. Edmonton remains economically prosperous without the widespread use of service activities, and uses entertainment, tourism, and leisure activities to promote the city to create a positive image of the city and attracting tourists and more investment. Thus, the coalition guiding the events process in Edmonton represents a progressive symbolic regime. In Manchester and Melbourne, the focuses have been on economic gains through revitalization strategies, while at the same time marketing and branding the city as an opportune place to live, work, invest, and visit. Accordingly, the regimes in these cities represent urban revitalization symbolic regimes. In addition to identifying the regimes and the characters of these regimes, this portion of the study also identified key personnel within the regimes, which was vital to the third stage of the research process.

Chapter four of this dissertation presented the results of interviews performed with regime members in each of cities. These interviews focused on understanding regime member perceptions of the links between the sporting events agenda and community development in each of the cities. Of particular importance to understanding these connections were interviewees' perceptions of the concept of community development within the city. This situated their responses and discussion regarding the links to the events strategy. Interestingly, while regime members in Edmonton focused on the idea of community development as a civic strategy encompassing 'all' citizens in the Edmonton area, regime members in Manchester and Melbourne focused more on localized concepts of neighbourhoods, geographical communities, and communities of interest such as sport communities. Regime members in Edmonton did not perceive connections between the sporting

events strategy and community development issues, reflecting a neoliberal market driven approach to civic development. However, several members did note that this mode of thinking was beginning to change and had to change in the near future. For Manchester and Melbourne, issues of social investment and community development have come to the forefront of the revitalization strategy, thus regime members perceived the sporting events agenda as uniquely tied to community development. In this way the urban regeneration focus was perceived to encourage the integration of local community needs/interests and ensuring that benefits of events accrue to local citizens. In addition, members of the regimes in Manchester and Melbourne provided examples such as improving public access to facilities, community engagement programs, and links to local neighbourhood development opportunities. It is encouraging to see that regime members perceive there to be links between the sports strategy and the community development agenda.

The purpose of the final stage of the research was to explore ways in which sporting events can and should make a greater contribution to civic and community development. To achieve this agenda, data collected as part of earlier stages of the project, including public documentation, media reports, and interview data, were revisited in order to consider mechanisms of positive social investment and policy change. Further exploration of the data determined that given Edmonton's regime agenda and the perceived lack of ties between events and community development, this case was excluded from the final portion of the research. Thus, the cases of Manchester and Melbourne were further explored to develop specific ways in which cities/regimes can exploit events for the betterment of communities. The central concern of this chapter was to develop potential opportunities for greater contribution of the local to the advent of sporting events, and to offer potential avenues for future research to explore and offer critical analyses of these connections. Strategies included comprehensive community consultation processes, full public

disclosure and transparency, and grassroots legacy planning. In addition, policy strategies incorporated mandatory social impact studies, maximum utilisation of local knowledge capital and providers, and cross-sectoral management of policy and bid related strategies.

This study determined that symbolic regimes, whose objective is marketing the desired image of the city in order to attract capital and investments, are guiding the development process in each of the three cities. Initially, there was some concern regarding the applicability of regime theory to development groups in cities outside North America, and to the sporting developments in cities. This study demonstrated that regime theory is not only applicable in these contexts, but also helps to explain the ideological nature of these development groups. Regimes typically favour economic over community development. Stone (2004) has suggested that this often implies that there is a non-necessary relationship between these two areas of development. While community and economic development strategically overlap, elites typically privilege economic activity because it requires little community consensus. Community development on the other hand requires grassroots mobilization and significant commitment, which could lead to problems within the regimes. Where regime agendas are typically focussed on economic ends, this study shed light on the changing ideologies of regimes in some cities where community development issues are gaining momentum. Thus, the regime approach has been helpful in this study, and will be important for future research on understanding changes in both the regime character and regime makeup, where there may be a refocusing on the community development agenda.

This study has demonstrated that those guiding the use of sport in growth and development are willing to recognize that there are links between this agenda and community development issues. In addition, it has also presented ways in which sporting event strategies can be more sensitive to the needs, issues, and concerns of local communities affected by events. Making

change to this agenda to ensure that events positively affect local neighbourhoods, communities, and development concerns is no simple matter. It will take concerted time, effort, research, and activism to ensure that cities, governments, regimes, and sport organisations make community issues a priority in the events agenda. While we are beginning to see some of these issues being raised and attempts to positively affect community development through programs such as the 'Vancouver Agreement,[13] associated with the 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games, there is still much work to be done at the policy level to ensure events positively affect communities.

The results of this study have helped to further our understanding of the links between the sporting events agenda in cities and general issues of community development. However this study has presented only one point of view regarding the use of events as a community development mechanism. This study did not address the perceptions and actions of local citizens and community groups affected by the events strategy. Research is lacking in understanding the experiences of local citizens and communities surrounding events. Future research is necessary to explore the lived realities of those involved and excluded from the process in order to fully understand the impact of these events on local community development issues. Local communities need to be involved in the research and policy development process in order to ensure that the events agenda in cities remains relevant to their localized issues and values.

Several issues arose during the research process that prompted further questions warranting further examination in the future. Some confusion existed during the interview process and the subsequent writing regarding the definitions of community and communities. In particular, what emerged from some of the data was that many regime members, even those outside the 'sport

[13] As part of the Vancouver Agreement, the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games signed binding commitments to inner-city social sustainability and inclusion to ensure inner-city neighbourhoods benefit from Vancouver hosting the Games.

community' wanted to discuss the impacts upon the 'sports communities' rather than the general localized areas of neighbourhoods. It was unclear in many cases without further probing whether community was being referred to specifically as the sport community or the community at large. Redirection was necessary throughout the research process to ensure that interviews and data collected referred to more general notions of community. However the emphasis placed on sport communities must be noted as it presents a relevant area of future discussion. While it is not unexpected that interviewees attempted to focus on sport related activities, it raises questions about the ties to local sporting development. Research has demonstrated that sport participation dominated as it is by higher socio-economic groups and the 'trickle-down' effects related to events is patchy and may not be effective in promoting local sport (Albutt, 2005; Hindson, Gidlow, & Peebles, 1994). Thus, further research is needed to understand the potential role of events in connecting to particular communities such as sporting communities.

In addition to the areas of research suggested at each stage of this research, a final area that has arisen as a result of the overall project that warrants further research is in relationship to the changing role of regimes in many cities. Federal government policies such as those implemented by the British Labour government are coming into play that expect greater social inclusion and community development practices surrounding civic developments. However, little is understood about how this changing focus can and will reshape the character of regimes in the city, nor how this will then impact upon the strategy of using events for development. Cities are constantly evolving and the nature of development is influenced by local, regional, national, and global forces will impact upon these processes in the future. Longitudinal research is necessary to understand the evolving role of sport in civic development and the affect of these strategies over the long term on cities, sport, and urban development.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

1. Who do you feel that CITY competes with as a city?
2. In what ways does CITY compete against these communities (tourism, investment, etc.)?
3. Have your competitors changed or your strategies changed over time? In what ways?
4. How have the regeneration strategies been used to brand the city? What is the "brand"/image you are trying to promote of CITY?
5. How important do you feel sport is in the civic image of CITY?
6. Has the city actively sought to promote sport, such as local sports teams, events, or active lifestyles as part of its broader image? How so?
7. What specific strategies has CITY used to leverage sport?
8. How would you/do you evaluate the efficacy of such initiatives?
9. Do you feel that there are any characteristics that particular to sport in the city that gives CITY a competitive advantage over other cities?
10. How important are the [local sports franchises] to the overall image of the city?
11. In what ways do you perceive that CITY has been able to use sport more effectively than its competitors to promote the city?
12. How is the local community involved in the overall regeneration efforts?
13. How do sporting events involve the local community? Does this differ depending on the size/type of event?
14. How do you see sport (as used for civic regeneration) fitting into local community development?
15. When hosting an event, such as the Commonwealth Games, who is the city targeting with such an initiative? Who are they/you trying to attract to this event?
16. What is the typically the strategy used for acquiring a sporting event? (i.e. bidding process, partnerships?)
17. Has there been any resistance from the local community regarding the specific sports strategies used? I.e., questions over the allocation of resources, etc.?

18. How have you been able to work with/around these groups?

19. How do you perceive CITY's ability to connect with people outside of the city?

20. How do you perceive the efforts to use sport for urban regeneration as fitting into the long-term strategic goals of the city?

Appendix B: Preliminary Contact Letter

Dear Potential Participant,

Thank you for considering participating in this study. The purpose of this research study is to gain insight into the manner through which the City of X has used sport in order to compete as a regional, national, and global municipality. With an increasingly competitive global economy, many cities have started to compete beyond their home regions or even countries for jobs, tourists, and investment. Sport has become a central component in this process as strong associations between cities and sport are seen as tools that allow cities to present themselves as future destinations for employers, investors, and tourists. Thus, today's cities are no longer just places to *do* business but, in addition, have begun to *act like* businesses.

You are being asked to complete an interview with the researchers to share your views on how Melbourne has used sport within its broader strategic initiatives. We anticipate that this will take approximately one hour of your time. As we gain a greater understanding of the ways in which cities compete with one another, we can identify the ways in which successful communities have been able to best use sport within their strategies. The direct benefit for you is to have an outside party investigate the manner through which your own city has done so, and provide you with a third party viewpoint of your operations and initiatives.

There are no significant risks anticipated for you in this study. While we will be asking you for your views and the disclosure of information, your participation is completely voluntary. You are not required to answer any questions and are free to withdraw without penalty at any time. While the City of Melbourne will be identified in the method section of any publications or presentations that may arise from this study, you will not be required to have your name associated with this study. If you choose, you may remain anonymous. Interviews will be transcribed by Dr. Mason or one of the three research assistants, Laura Misener, Greg Duquette, or Ernie Buist (all graduate students), and stored in the locked office of Dr. Mason. Given the fact that we are interested in building on the results of this study, information that you provide may be used by the research team in subsequent studies. Should this occur, your comments would retain the same

Appendix C: Supplementary Information Letter and Informed Consent Form

Dear Interviewee,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. The purpose of this research study is to gain insight into the manner through which the City of X has used sport in order to compete as a regional, national, and global municipality. With an increasingly competitive global economy, many cities have started to compete beyond their home regions or even countries for jobs, tourists, and investment. Sport has become a central component in this process as strong associations between cities and sport are seen as tools that allow cities to present themselves as future destinations for employers, investors, and tourists. Thus, today's cities are no longer just places to *do* business but, in addition, have begun to *act like* businesses.

You are being asked to complete an interview with Laura Misener and Dr. Daniel Mason to share your views on how Melbourne has used sport within its broader strategic initiatives. We anticipate that this will take approximately one hour of your time. As we gain a greater understanding of the ways in which cities compete with one another, we can identify the ways in which successful communities have been able to best use sport within their strategies. The direct benefit for you is to have an outside party investigate the manner through which your own city has done so, and provide you with a third party viewpoint of your operations and initiatives.

There are no significant risks anticipated for you in this study. While we will be asking you for your views and the disclosure of information, your participation is completely voluntary. You are not required to answer any questions and are free to withdraw without penalty at any time. While the City of Melbourne will be identified in the method section of any publications or presentations that may arise from this study, you will not be required to have your name associated with this study. If you choose, you may remain anonymous. Interviews will be transcribed by Laura Misener (Doctoral student), and stored in the locked office of Dr. Mason. Given the fact that we are interested in building on the results of this study, information that you provide may be used by the research team in subsequent studies. Should this occur, your comments would retain the same level of confidentiality as for this study. Upon completion, copies of publications that emanate from this study will be sent to you.